

JOURNAL
OF THE
ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.

NOVEMBER 2ND, 1869.

DR. BEIGEL, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following new members were announced :

Fellows.—Captain G. J. D. Heath, Assist. Com. Gen., Madras Army, Madras ; Thomas Milne, Esq., M.D., New Deer, Aberdeenshire, N.B. ; Horace Swete, Esq., M.D., Dunmarklyn, Weston-super-Mare ; Dr. Samuel E. Maunsell, R.A., Freshwater, Isle of Wight ; Robert Watt, Esq., Ashley Avenue, Belfast, Ireland ; Lieut. William Henry Francklyne, Palamcottah, Madras Presidency ; William Pepper, Esq., Grantee, Bustee, N.W. Provinces, India ; E. W. Martin, Esq., Preston.

Hon. Fellow.—M. le Baron d'Omalius d'Halloy, Ciney, Belgique.

Corresponding Member.—Professor Dr. August Hirsch, Berlin.

The following contributions were announced, and the thanks of the meeting were voted to the respective donors :—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From J. F. COLLINGWOOD, Esq.—Report of the British Association for 1868.

From the INSTITUTE.—Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, No. 10.

From the MANX SOCIETY.—Mona Miscellany.

From the AUTHOR.—Resumé des Recherches sur l'Ancienneté de l'Homme en Ligurie. By M. A. Issel.

From Dr. RYAN TENISON.—British Medical Journal, vol. ii, July—December 1868.

From the AUTHOR.—Recherches Chimiques et Physiologiques sur l'Alimentation des Enfants. Dr. Coudereau.

From the EDITOR.—Medical Press and Circular, to date.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Society, Nos. 112, 113, 114.

From Mr. J. FRASER.—Hippocratis Aphorismi, Greek and Latin, 1685.

From the AUTHOR.—Supplement to the English Cyclopædia, Natural History, Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. By A. Ramsay, Esq., F.G.S.

From the SOCIETY.—Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, iii, 5.

From the EDITOR.—Scientific Opinion, to date.

From the INSTITUTION.—Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, Nos. 54, 55, 1869.

VOL. VIII.

- From the AUTHOR.—The Greeks and their Detractors. By Dr. S. J. Cassimati.
- From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, part 1, vol. ii.
- From the AUTHOR.—Oversigt over det Kongelige danske Videnskaber-nes Selskabs, Copenhagen. No. 6, 1867. By Prof. Steenstrup.
- From the PRESIDENT.—Compte Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique for 1867. St. Petersburg: 1868. Atlas to ditto.
- From the ACADEMY.—Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersburg, vol. xiii, 21-37 fas.
- From the EDITORS.—Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, No. 11, 1869. By A. Bastian and R. Hartman.
- From the ACADEMY.—Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akad. der Wissen. Phil. Hist., lix band, heft 1, 2, 3, 4. Ditto, i. Math. Nat. Classe, 1868, Abtheilung 4, 5. Ditto, ii, 4, 5, 6.
- From the SOCIETY.—Journal Royal Geographical Society, 1868. Proceedings ditto, Nos. 3 and 4, 1869.
- From Dr. PAUL BROCA.—Revue des Cours Scientifiques, No. 33.
- From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Feb., March, May, June, July, 1869. Journal ditto, parts i, ii, No. 2; part ii, No. 3.
- From H. PRIGG, jun., Esq.—Journal of the Suffolk Institute, June 1869.
- From the AUTHOR.—Examination of Mr. Gillespie's Argument. By T. S. Barrett, Esq.
- From the AUTHORS.—The Rare Romance of Reynard the Fox, in words of one syllable. S. Phillips Day.
- From EDWARD JARVIS, Esq., M.D.—Registry and Return of Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Massachusetts, 1869. Report of the Board of State Charities of Massachusetts, 1869. Census of Massachusetts for 1865. Report on Insanity and Idiocy in Massachusetts, 1855. Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, 1860, U.S., by J. C. G. Kennedy. Ninth Census of the United States, by Dr. E. Jarvis.
- From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iv, part 1.
- From the AUTHORS.—Dottings in Mosquito, Nicaragua, etc. By Capt. B. Pim and Dr. B. Seemann.
- From the AUTHOR.—Relazione all' Opera dei Davis & Thurnam, Crania Britannica. By Dr. A. Garbiglietti.
- From the INSTITUTE.—The Canadian Journal of Science, vol. xii, No. 3.
- From the CLUB.—Proceedings of the Cotswold Naturalists' Field Club.
- From the INSTITUTION.—Smithsonian Reports, 1867.
- From the SOCIETY.—Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History, vol. i, part 4. Proceedings ditto, 1868. Entomological Correspondence of Dr. T. W. Harris.
- From the INSTITUTE.—Proceedings of the Essex Institute, vol. v, Nos. 7, 8.
- From the COLLEGE.—Annual Report of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard College, Boston, 1867-8.

- From the SOCIETY.—Bulletin de la Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou, No. iii.
- From the ROYAL INSTITUTION OF PALERMO.—Giornale di Scienze Naturali ed Economiche.
- From the WAR DEPARTMENT.—Report on Gunshot Wounds, War Department, U.S., Circular, No. 2.
- From the AUTHOR.—Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names, vol. ii.
- From the INDIA OFFICE.—The People of India, vols. iii, iv. By F. Watson and J. W. Kaye.
- From the AUTHOR.—Die Hirnwindungen des Menschen. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Furchen, und Windungen der Grosshirnhemisphären in Foetus des Menschen. By Professor A. Ecker.
- From the AUTHORS.—Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ, part i.
- From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. vii, part 1.
- From the AUTHOR.—Records of the Priory of the Isle of May. By John Stuart, LL.D.
- From the AUTHOR.—The Last of the Tasmanians. By James Bonwick, Esq., F.A.S.L.

FOR THE MUSEUM.

- From Professor KOPERNICKI.—Two Rumanyo skulls; two gypsy (Czigany) ditto; two Bulgarian ditto; one Ghiliak ditto.
- From Captain R. F. BURTON.—Quichua skull; Aymará ditto; two wooden idols, from Easter Island; obsidian knife, from ditto; hair rope, from ditto; two bows and seven arrows, Tupy Indians; Aymará cloth, from Arica; lumps of chewed maíz for making chicha; wetted ashes used to chew with coca.

The DIRECTOR read the following resolution, which the Council had that day passed, limiting the time of reading papers and of speeches and replies:

"That no paper read before the Society do occupy more than half an hour, except by express permission of the Council. That no reply do occupy more than a quarter of an hour. That no comment occupy more than ten minutes. That the above resolution take effect on the 16th instant."

Mr. L. OWEN PIKE, M.A., V.P.A.S.L., read a paper

On the Methods of Anthropological Research.

To have been asked for a paper on the subject which I have now undertaken to discuss is to have been paid the highest compliment which a Committee of the Anthropological Society could, in my estimation, have bestowed upon me. It is not without great diffidence that I have accepted the honour thus conferred; for, if I have no other qualification for the task, I have at least a sense of its magnitude and importance, and a keen appreciation of its difficulties.

It is impossible to sketch out the methods of anthropological research without some previous statement of the objects of anthropological inquiry. Until the ends are stated with some precision, any one method is as good or as bad as another, and is no better than

the absence of all method whatsoever. It is, therefore, necessary to answer a question which is very commonly asked by persons who have no knowledge of the science, What is the meaning, or what is the use, of anthropology? It might be shortly answered, that the use of anthropology is to render a number of studies, which are useless when considered separately, useful in combination. The three classes of persons by whom the question is most frequently asked are professed antiquaries, professed scholars, and professed historians. In the last class, however, are to be discovered only historians of the most antiquated type, the modern representatives of the mediæval chroniclers, the men who suppose that they have written a history when they have stated in chronological order all the true or false details which industry enables them to discover, but who can see no lessons in the past, and believe in no indications of the future. What mere details are to the scientific historian, what mere scholarship is to the comparative philologist, what mere antiquities are to the archæologist, that and vastly more are the sciences of history, comparative philology, and archæology, in combination with various other sciences, to the anthropologist.

Like the mere chronicler, like the mere scholar, like the mere antiquary, the anthropologist has to deal with a mass of dry details; but he is unworthy of the name unless he can create something out of the rough fragments which are presented to his notice. There is, in fact, no study to which the *Cui bono?* objection is less applicable than to anthropology. Englishmen have written verses in the classical languages, when they had not the least conception of comparative philology; they have collected antiquities as mere curiosities; and they have learnt historical details under the impression that they were acquiring knowledge, and few persons have thought of asking what is the use? Anthropology, on the other hand, starts with the most practical and the most comprehensive of all ends in view, the discovery of the laws of human life, upon which must eventually be founded all education, all government, all colonisation, all social arrangements, all principles of right and wrong, so far as those principles may be independent of religion.

It is not, however, my object to show, in the present paper, how anthropological laws are to be applied when discovered; the discovery will lead surely enough to the application in the science of anthropology, as in all other sciences.

In the search for anthropological laws, it may be broadly stated that success is to be looked for on the same line of march which has led to success in other branches of inquiry. It will not be denied that whatever advance is made will follow upon the observation of phenomena, upon generalisation, upon the verification of principles tentatively assumed. And the rate of advance will be in proportion to the number of relevant observations, to the ingenuity displayed in generalisation, and to the accuracy of verification. This I take to be a concise statement of the scientific method applicable to every branch of inquiry. It only remains to interpret this recognised scientific formula in its application to anthropology. In short, the two

great questions to be asked are: What must we observe? and how must we verify? There is no fear but that we shall have, in the British Islands at least, an abundance of brilliant generalisations, for constructiveness is one of the best marked features of the British intellect.

The materials for anthropological observation and verification may be divided primarily into two great classes, of which, however, each one illustrates, and is necessary to a due appreciation of, the other. We have, firstly, the phenomena to be dealt with in human individuals, and, secondly, the phenomena of mankind in masses. The necessity of this two-fold method of observation adds, not a little, to the difficulty of anthropology as compared with some other sciences, but, on the other hand, there are great facilities for the verification of the conclusions arrived at in one class by comparison with the facts discovered, and the conclusions arrived at in the other class. I can, perhaps, best show my meaning by selecting an instance. The physician has been in the habit of acting upon the experience acquired by treating a number of individuals in succession; he has assumed that one human being with any particular disease should be treated in pretty nearly the same manner as any other human being with the same disease. He may, perhaps, have allowed something for age, and climate, but he has certainly not been in the habit of making any allowance for race, or of attempting to distinguish between the tendencies which are due to race and the tendencies which are due to climate. The collection, however, of statistics in most civilised countries may be expected to throw great light on this point. We shall have, it is to be hoped, statistics of disease, statistics of treatment, statistics of climate, and statistics of occupation; and a proper use of these materials may help considerably towards a better understanding of what has hitherto been somewhat vaguely called temperament or constitution. It will, of course, be necessary to collect statistics which have reference to natives of the same country, who have settled in different climates, and statistics which have reference to the intermixture of different races; and it cannot be but that from a combination of all these elements some important laws will be discovered.

In the observation of individuals much, of course, must be left to the ingenuity of the observer; but it may safely be laid down as a principle that the object to be kept in view is the discovery of correlations. We want to know, and we *must* know before there can be a science of anthropology, whether any characteristic of structure in one part of the body is or is not invariably accompanied by any characteristic of structure in another part of the body, whether the disturbance of any one function is or is not invariably accompanied by the disturbance of any other function, and what is the precise relation which peculiarity of function bears to peculiarity of structure. We want to carry out this investigation throughout the whole field of human life, from those phenomena of the alimentary canal which are shared by man with other animals to those complex manifestations of intellect in which man reigns supreme. The knowledge which we desire, it will be admitted, can only be acquired through a careful

comparison of the results attained by a study of individuals and by a study of mankind in masses, races, or sections.

It will thus be seen that anthropology cannot dispense with what has been, in defiance alike of logic and etymology, sometimes called ethnology. And as the statement has been widely circulated that anthropology means no more than ethnology, it is necessary to understand clearly not only what is meant by the former term, but also what is meant by the latter. So far as I am aware, no one has either traced out the history of the word, or defined it scientifically, and some misapprehension may be removed by an attempt to do both. The origin of the word *ἔθνος* is somewhat doubtful (and I do not intend to inflict a philological disquisition upon my hearers), but concerning its earliest known meaning there is no doubt whatever. In Homer, for instance, *ἔθνος* means simply a "large number", and is applied *ad libitum* to a crowd of men, to a body of soldiers, to a mass of corpses, to a plague of flies, to a swarm of bees, to flocks and herds, to great aggregations of any kind. Later in its history, it is forced, by the aid of various qualifying adjuncts, into a variety of significations, such as tribe, or family, or caste, or nation, and is even used by Xenophon to distinguish one sex from the other. Later again it is used in the New Testament to distinguish τὰ ἔθνη "the gentiles" from the Jews, and later still to distinguish τὰ ἔθνη "the heathen" from the Christians. In the language of Hellenistic writers, therefore, ethnology would mean the science which deals with the heathen, or the science which deals with the gentiles. In Greek, properly so called, it would either be meaningless, or would mean the science which deals with large aggregates of any kind. It may be presumed that ethnology does not mean the science of aggregates. It may also be presumed that ethnology was never intended to be the science of the gentiles or of the heathen, or of all nations except one, and we must therefore assume that it was intended to be the science of large bodies of men. It will, however, generally be found that even when *ἔθνος* is accepted in the sense of a large body of men, for which it never seems to have stood absolutely in classical Greek, the so-called ethnology is nothing more than ethnography, or the *description* of different nations. And the reason of this is obvious: there cannot be a "science of bodies of men" without a science of man in general. The bodies of men consist of individuals, and the attempt to found a science of such bodies without any reference to the individuals of which they are composed, is one of those royal roads to knowledge which must lead into a *cul-de-sac*.

Statistics, however, concerning large sections of mankind, their manners and customs, their structure, their occupation, the diseases to which they are subject, and the medium in which they live, are absolutely necessary to the anthropologist. It matters little whether such descriptions go by the name of ethnography, or of ethnology, or whether they are content with a simple English designation. So long as the information is relevant, the statistics trustworthy, and the averages correct, the anthropologist owes a deep debt of gratitude to any one who will supply him with a portion of his materials indispen-

able to his science, but useless without the anthropological methods of verifying the generalisations which may be suggested.

It may then be stated as a first principle of anthropology, that any generalisation formed upon a study of individuals must be verified by the statistics of nations, masses, or, if the term be preferred—races, and, on the other hand, that no really valuable generalisation formed upon the statistics of nations, or races, can be finally accepted without verification from a study of individuals, not merely human, but organic. No conclusion concerning the hereditary nature of any characteristics of structure or function, concerning the effects of climate or occupation, concerning the possibility of improving old or developing new faculties, concerning any branch of anthropology which is worthy of the name, can be accepted by men of science until they see that there is an anthropological method of sifting actual from possible causes. There is no doubt that the method which I have indicated requires much labour, much skill, much thought, and kindly co-operation from all who have the interests of mankind at heart, but I think also there is little doubt that it will, some day, yield an ample return for all the labour and thought bestowed upon it.

Thus far, I have treated of the anthropology which may be studied only in living organisms, and I have dwelt rather long, and perhaps too exclusively, upon this part of the subject, because I think it is impossible to lay too much stress upon the fundamental doctrine that all anthropology has for its end the good of the human beings of the present and the human beings of the future. It unfortunately happens, however, that we cannot dispense with the experience of the past; and the farther back we travel the more difficult it becomes to obtain accurate information. We find ourselves in almost as bad a condition as the first astronomers who had no accurate recorded observations to assist them; and in one respect we are in a worse condition, because we have series upon series of historical observations in which a little truth lies hidden among masses of falsehood.

For the anthropology of the present day, therefore, it is obviously of very great importance that there should exist a good school of historical criticism—a school which, if it must err, should err upon the side of scepticism rather than on the side of credulity. It is better to have no theories than to have theories founded upon false data. It is better to reject all doubtful evidence, even though the result may be a paucity of materials, than to revel in an abundance of historical shoddy. The facts useful to anthropology which have been handed down from a time when there was no idea of the possibility of such a science must, of necessity, be few in number, and in many instances inaccurate in detail. It therefore becomes the duty of the present generation not only to make its own observations with accuracy, but to exercise the utmost caution in accepting the grandiloquent statements of mediæval chroniclers concerning the extinction of whole nations, and the migrations of whole tribes. The meteorologists of the present day would not admit that gales and thunderstorms are miracles; the anthropologists of the present day must remember that

the persons who recorded miraculous gales and thunderstorms are the persons whose historical rhodomontades pass current as facts in the popular literature of our time. The historical method of the anthropologist should, therefore, be not less critical than that of Sir George C. Lewis.

There is a study which is of modern growth and which, though only a subsidiary branch of anthropology, is of more value to it than all the literature of the middle ages. I mean the study of what has been called Pre-historic Archaeology. Though it may seem like a misuse of terms to make such an assertion, there is often better and truer history in a collection of flints than in a series of annals, and more food for reflection in a cleft skull than in a historical flourish. For my own part, I confess that the best written chapter of historical description which I ever read, I read, not in the pages of Thucydides, of Froissart, of Gibbon, or of Macaulay, but on a table in the Museum of the Anthropological Society of London, when the results of Mr. Rose's labours in Denmark were exhibited to the Fellows of that Society. And in the same way the greatest of all complete descriptive histories was to be read in that inner ring of the Paris Exhibition of 1867, in which the progress of the arts was illustrated. In the advance from the first chip of flint to the highly ornamented weapons of stone, in the collection of instruments by which the various results were attained, and again in the advance from the weapons and tools of stone to our modern appliances, there is a story of deeper interest than any to be found in the rise of dynasties or the overthrow of empires. There is no art of pen or pencil which could so well as these familiar collections strike home to the mind the truth of Tennyson's lines :—

"I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns."

It is hardly necessary to remark that in prehistoric archæology, or, as it is called by anthropologists, archaic anthropology, there lurk dangers almost as great, and there is need for caution almost as unremitting, as in the field of mediæval history. There is, however, another field in which these dangers are more formidable and the need for caution is still greater.

One of the first efforts towards that branch of the science which used formerly to be, and is now sometimes, called ethnology, was made by the comparative philologists. They assumed at first that the affinities of blood in different nations were in exact proportion to the similarity in the vocabularies of the languages spoken by those nations. As philology progressed, this position began to be maintained with somewhat less energy than in those early days when the investigation of Sanscrit showed its connection with numerous Western languages; and by degrees the principle was asserted that languages must be classified, not according to their vocabularies, but according to their grammars, with a corollary almost always implied, if not openly asserted, that races, no less than languages, must be classified according to grammatical forms. Stated nakedly in this

way, the inference is obviously too absurd for serious argument ; but among philologists, who think there is nothing like philology, and who have no anatomical or psychological knowledge of races, the grammatical theory of ethnic origin still lingers out its shadowy existence.

It has not, however, been my intention to introduce the subject of philology for the purpose of depreciating that very interesting and very useful science. If it had no place in anthropology there would be no necessity to mention it ; but it has a place, and one of some importance, though it is of very little value in the discrimination of races. The chief use to the anthropologist is the light which it throws upon the history of the human mind, and it sometimes places us in possession of a historical fact with more precision and in a more trustworthy manner than a contemporary chronicler. Indeed it is sometimes a contemporary chronicler without his human prejudices, and ignorance. It tells us sometimes, in the plainest possible language, but without comment, that a word must have been in use by a particular people at a particular time. It tells us frequently that the same word has been used by a second people at the same or another time. It points out, perhaps, that the word is not to be found in the vocabulary of some other languages, or if found at all, is found only in a very different form. From such evidence as this we can often fix a date before which some great step in civilisation must have been taken by the people who spoke that word. And thus it becomes possible to lay down with certainty a minimum of progress which must have been made by a section of the human family at a definite period of the world's history, even when all records have long been lost.

As an instance of this (and instances are always better than vague generalities), I may, perhaps, be permitted to mention that it has been my own good fortune to establish that a certain minimum of civilisation was possessed by the inhabitants of our own island before the Roman invasion. The proof of this is effected by a comparison of Welsh with Latin, and with other languages of the Aryan group. And though, of course, the Welsh language shows obvious traces of Roman influence, there yet exist in it a number of words which agree far more closely with some Aryan languages than with Latin, and others which, though they exist in some Aryan languages, are not to be found in Latin at all. It follows that, wherever such words describe the acts or the devices of civilised life, the civilisation, such as it was, must have been anterior to the coming of the Romans. This, of course, is only one illustration of what may be done by philology towards a history of the human mind, but it is one which I have selected as being most interesting to a British audience.

Of the same character, and of almost equal interest, though not possessing the same elements of certainty, is the light thrown by comparative philology on mythology, which constitutes a most important chapter in the history of the human mind. It is a misfortune that an attempt was made to establish a science of comparative mythology before the theories of the philological ethnologists were exploded. It is an everyday event to hear of Aryan myths in the sense of myths common to a number of branches of one great Aryan people. The convenient

hypothesis of an original Aryan language has been mixed up with an extremely inconvenient and self-contradictory theory of an Aryan people actually existing at present ; and it is from this confusion that has sprung the doctrine of an Aryan mythology—a doctrine at once too narrow and too comprehensive. There is no doubt that comparative philology has discovered how some of the stories of the classical mythology came into existence,—has shown how the dawn, the sun, the storm, and the clouds were personified, and how the first meaning of their names was forgotten. And this is in itself a discovery of which it is difficult to over-rate the importance, because it is the first step towards a far wider generalisation. It is not possible to describe exactly the mythology of the people who spoke what has been called the Aryan language, if indeed they had, in the proper sense of the term, a mythology, because the Persian, the Greek, and the Latin mythologies differ *inter se*, even where there is a verbal similarity, and because there exists hardly any verbal similarity between the classical and northern mythologies, though they are both recorded in Aryan languages. But, on the other hand, the similarity of tale which actually does exist in the northern and classical languages is to be found in nations which do not speak and never have spoken Aryan languages—in tribes as remote as the American Indians. Hence we arrive at the principle that there is resemblance of mythology even where there is no resemblance of language, and that the tendency to personify the powers of nature is a common attribute of the human mind throughout the whole world.

In this case the indication has been afforded by philology, though the generalisation is independent of it, and it would ill become the anthropologist to be ungrateful even for the indication. Apart, too, from what may be called applied philology, there is material for the anthropologist in philology pure and simple. Each individual language not only illustrates incidentally the social history of the people speaking it, but tells its own tale of new devices for the expression of thoughts. As a grammatical form dies out, there is something ready to take its place ; and decay in language, as in the organic world, is but another name for the renewal of life.* All this, of course, has its interest for the student of anthropology, but at first sight only such interest as all the workings of the human mind possess for him.

There is, however, a very intimate connection between the study of language and the study of psychology, which is one of the most important branches of anthropology. The dry squabbles of the mediæval schoolmen become full of new interest to any one who perceives that this old chopping of logic was to a great extent only a chopping of words. In those controversies may be perceived sometimes a great idea which the logician has in vain attempted to express, sometimes an ambiguous expression, which a self-sufficient philosopher has mistaken for a great idea. And though it would be unjust to deny that some of the most powerful human intellects are to be detected float-

* "Ut sylvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt : ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque."

Ars Poetica, 60.

ing about here and there in the vast whirlpool of scholasticism, it would hardly be unjust to apply to the scholastic authors in general the words of Pope—

“ Wits, just like fools, at war about a name,
Have full as oft no meaning or the same.”

And this principally from ambiguities of language and difficulties of expression—ambiguities, I am sorry to add, which have found their way into modern works on philology, so that it has been gravely maintained that articulate speech has had its origin in the naming of “ the abstract,” and “ the general,” whatever those terms may be supposed to mean.

Modern psychology, too, suffers terribly from the difficulties and the deceptions of language. It would not, perhaps, be easy to point out any living psychologist, even in Germany, who shows himself so completely the slave of ambiguous terms as Hegel ; but, on the other hand, it would probably not be possible to discover any psychologist who, even though setting out with a knowledge of his danger, has not been the victim of some double-faced expression.

Here, I believe, lies the greatest obstruction to a real science of anthropology, and it is one which we must not be afraid to confront. Without psychology there is no anthropology. Without a good method, without clear and generally accepted definitions, there is no psychology. And in no branch of our science are plain definitions more required than in that to which the name of ethnology has commonly been given, in the description of the phenomena which distinguish race from race. It has been, hitherto, far too commonly the custom to describe the inhabitants of various countries as possessing a string of mental attributes designated by a number of abstract terms which may be interpreted in a hundred different senses by a hundred different readers. It is, however, to be hoped that, when the instructions of the Anthropological Society of London are issued to its local secretaries, something will be done towards putting an end to the confusion. Whatever those instructions may be, there can be no doubt that they will justly incur much adverse criticism ; but it is to be hoped that they will be up to the level of modern psychological research, that they will make the best use of the established psychological laws, and that they will be sufficiently explicit to secure unity of action among the professed students of anthropology.

As there is an intimate connection between philology and psychology, so also there is an intimate connection between the study of physical characteristics and the study of psychical characteristics. We want to know not only what are the mental peculiarities of nations, races, or sections of mankind, but also the bodily conformation with which those peculiarities are associated. I have, however, for three reasons, avoided entering into details upon those methods of psychological research which may be of most assistance to us. I have felt that my paper will be too long even without such details ; I have felt my inability to make any complex psychological system intelligible within the limits of one paper ; and I have been reluctant to anticipate what is to be expected from the Anthropological Society. I

regret this the more because as the ultimate object of investigating physical characteristics must be to discover not only their correlations with one another, but their correlations with various functions and especially with psychical functions, my shortcomings in one branch of my subject must necessarily place me at a disadvantage in my treatment of another.

Having premised, however, that in the collection of facts, anthropology expects to derive some practical advantage over and above the mere facts themselves, I may perhaps be permitted to suggest that our science is omnivorous in the widest sense, that there is no individual fact too minute for it, and no mass of facts too great for it. But what is wanted above all things is accuracy, and as some facts are naturally more susceptible of accurate description than others, they acquire an importance which would not perhaps otherwise belong to them. In the statement of many physical facts there is a difficulty hardly less than that which besets many psychological statements. Ideas of colour, for instance, vary with the persons observing, and anatomical descriptions vary with the skill, and even with the instruments used by the anatomists. One may be able to trace a nerve-fibre where another cannot see it; one may assert a condition of blood which another may not be disposed to admit; one may give to a form of disease a name which another may consider inappropriate. And so it appears that one of our first requisites, even in the description of those facts which are learned through the eye, is a clear and generally admitted nomenclature.

It is, therefore, to some extent a matter for congratulation that anthropologists have very generally devoted themselves to the examination and description of those phenomena of human existence which can be submitted to the test of definite measures of length or weight. The exact stature and girth of a given number of individuals, taken indiscriminately among any people by one person, are worth far more than the combined statements of a number of travellers, who have visited that people without the rule and the tape. The travellers will certainly differ in their descriptions; the rule or the tape will give a definite average. The assertion that one people is tall, or another short, gives no clear idea, unless some standard of comparison is set up. And it may be laid down as one of the axioms of anthropology that we cannot have too much precise information which is given in metres, inches, pounds, grammes, or fractions of those standards of weight or length.

Great improvements have been effected of late years in the methods of measuring skulls and their contents, and it will hardly be denied that the information obtained in this way, and yet to be obtained, will be of the greatest benefit to anthropology. Though opinions may differ concerning the value of skulls as an index to race, it must be remembered that the skull is often the only index which can be found; and where a race-problem exists, the abandonment of the skulls is frequently equivalent to the abandonment of the problem. The answer, however, to so many other questions, must eventually turn upon the examination of brain-cases and brains, that the anti-

quarian branch of the subject sinks into insignificance by comparison. We do not yet know precisely what part is played by the brain as a whole, still less what part is played by any particular section of it in the phenomena of emotion and intellect. There are many theories on the subject, and perhaps none of them can be reconciled with the whole of the facts. But it is not difficult to perceive that labour bestowed upon the skull and its contents cannot, in the end, be labour thrown away. Even were it proved that the brain is in no sense the source of psychical manifestations, the discovery would still be worth having, and any discovery of a more positive character would, of course, be of greater importance.

All thanks, then, are due to those who have laboriously noted down the lengths, and breadths, and weights of skulls and brains, not only because their attention has been well directed, but because, also, their information is good of its kind—good because accurate. But valuable though the facts thus acquired must be, beyond all doubt, it by no means follows that facts, at first sight of a very inferior character, may not also have very great value. It is almost certain that when the microscope is brought to bear upon nerve-fibres, the result, if there be a new result, will be worth recording; it is not certain, but possible, that when the same instrument is brought to work upon sections of the hair, the result may also have some use beyond the mere facts revealed. The measurements of arms and legs, and still more of internal organs, may some day lead to the establishment of correlations as yet unsuspected. In short, it cannot be too generally known that anthropology does not mean the assertion of man's descent from apes. It means the collection of facts, not for the sake of the facts themselves, but for the sake of the laws to be discovered in them, for the sake of future generations to be benefited by them. It means, if not peace on earth, at least good will towards men, and it would mean peace on earth, if its enemies would allow it to be at peace. It means the only kind of philanthropy which can be of service to mankind—philanthropy founded upon science.

I have throughout been painfully conscious that I have not succeeded in avoiding what is very distasteful to me, a certain tone of dogmatism. My only excuse is that I did not select the subject for myself, and that it is impossible to describe methods without laying down positive doctrines, or else reiterating the words "in my opinion" in every sentence. I feel it, however, my duty to state that, although I was invited to write the paper, it consists simply of my own opinions; and that although I am greatly indebted to the Anthropological Society for the little knowledge I possess of the subject, my mistakes, my omissions, and my ignorance are all my own, and must not be visited upon the body which intrusted me with the task. I have endeavoured to give, as briefly as possible, an outline of a possible science of anthropology, and I have not intended to lay down absolutely any dogma except one—and that is, that we must not dogmatise. Whatever results may be arrived at, they will be reached by observation, generalisation, and verification conducted in the most perfect manner, be that manner what it may.

NOVEMBER 16TH, 1869.

DR. R. S. CHARNOCK, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

E. Holborow King, Esq., of 18, Stratford Place, was elected a Fellow. Professor Carl Gustav Carus, of Dresden, was elected a Corresponding Member.

The following presents were announced as having been received, and thanks were given to donors:—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the EDITOR.—*Nature*, to date.

From the SOCIETY.—*Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland*, part 2, vol. ii.

From the SOCIETY.—*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. 8, 1869.

From the AUTHOR.—*Dovere della Donna*, *Lezioni di Giuseppe Mas- triani*.

From Dr. CARTER BLAKE, F.G.S.—*A Ride across a Continent*, 2 vols. By F. Boyle, F.R.G.S.

From the ACADEMY.—*Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, Nos. 1—6, 1869.

Mr. F. G. H. PRICE read a paper "On the Customs of the Kaffirs," taken from the notes of Mr. Charles Hamilton during his sojourn amongst them, of which the following is an abstract:—

The Kaffirs are a remarkably fine muscular race of men, and of tall stature, averaging six feet. Their complexion or colour of the skin is of a deep bronze, not amounting to black; their hair is short and crisp, but not woolly like the negro's; nor are their noses so broad and flat, or lips so thick, as in the latter race. They are by nature great lovers of cattle; and it is their ambition to own as large a herd as possible, which ultimately brings them in wealth, as it depends upon the extent of their herd the number of wives they are able to possess, each one being marketably worth from fifteen to twenty cows. The women think more highly of a man who has a number of wives; and the husbands rarely make any difference in bestowing their favours upon one rather than another, but, if any more attention be shown to one than another, it is towards the first, who takes precedence over the other wives. The faithfulness of the husbands towards their wives is wonderful, considering the great temptations they have; infidelity being rarely heard of. I also observed with admiration the great fairness and kindness the women evinced towards each other's children.

The Kaffirs are intelligent looking men, possessed of remarkable common sense, with fine lofty foreheads and quick eyes; as an example of the latter, I have seen one of them trace a bee after it has left a flower for a great distance to its nest, where he has quickly taken its honey. They are likewise very swift of foot and possessed of great powers of endurance; as an instance, I have myself witnessed a race between the native horse and an athletic Kaffir, over a distance of nearly two miles, when the latter has arrived at the winning post sound in wind

and limb some lengths ahead of the horse, which was thoroughly winded and totally unfit for anything but a bran mash.

The men mostly run wherever they go. If a Kaffir be despatched to a distant kraal with a letter or message, he is nearly certain to run the whole way, and nothing but the offer to take a pinch of snuff or rather a spoonful of snuff, will tempt him to linger. Snuff has a peculiar charm to the Kaffirs and they take it with great solemnity, not allowing any one to talk whilst they are in the act of thrusting it up their noses, which they literally do, with a wooden or ivory spoon fashioned by themselves for the purpose. After hearing each other's news they continue their respective journey.

It is of extremely rare occurrence to see any deformed children amongst them ; thus the inference I deduce from this fact is, that when a misshaped child is born, it is strangled and left as food for vultures. The women usually deliver themselves (being largely formed), with great ease, and apparently think little of it, for in a short time, they rise, pick up the infant (which is very nearly as fair as an European infant), and either carry it at their side, resting as it were upon their hips or on their backs. In this manner the woman will walk back to the kraal, at the entrance of which she is met by her chief, who takes the child in his arms and examines it to ascertain its sex ; should it be a female he appears much pleased, as she will some day increase his wealth ; yet he likes the boys as they, in their turn, add to his power. The Kaffirs are great hunters and most hospitable in their manners ; I have always received the greatest kindness and hospitality at their hands. I well remember being the guest of a fine old chief in the Umzimkulu country, when I did exactly as they did with one exception, *i. e.*, of eating raw meat, and I was epicure enough to prefer it cooked. The Kaffir is a kind sympathetic being towards his fellow creatures. One of their greatest vices is their cruelty—untaught nature frequently is cruel ; and if we remark it in the savage, we have been told to do so in the European schoolboy. It is, however, in a boy, almost always want of consideration ; in a Kaffir it is a sort of revenge, which he takes on an animal which he judges to be his enemy. He never appears satisfied with getting rid of him in the shortest way ; but once secure that no more danger is to be apprehended from him, he takes a miserable delight in seeing him suffer. If a beast were to be killed, and it could be done with safety, the Kaffir would like to have seen him disembowelled first and his eyes put out. One of the most stirring sights is a Kaffir war or other dance. I have seen large numbers of girls joining in these festivities, wearing merely necklaces and a band of beads fastened round their loins. It was curious to see, whilst looking around me, how from plump and gay in their maiden state they become, after marriage, emaciated and haggard, from rough usage and field work, which falls to their lot to perform ; notwithstanding this, they appear perfectly happy and contented. There is a curious custom observed by these people, not unlike that of circumcision practised by the Jews. This painful operation is performed when the boys arrive at puberty. During the celebration of these rites, which last a considerable time,

great merry-makings and feastings take place. The boys have various other forms to go through before they are fully admitted into the estate of man. A somewhat similar rite is gone through by the girls before they are considered marriageable.

The Kaffirs from towns, after they have served their time as servants, always return to their kraals and original customs, very soon forgetting all they have learned. As an instance of attempted civilisation, I will give you an account of a Kaffir named Lahungu. This man had been to England, and the guest of a philanthropic lady, and promoter of the S. P. G. After living there some time, he had a station given him in his native country, where he proceeded to act as a missionary. One day I visited him out of sheer curiosity, and, to my surprise, found him *in puris naturalibus*, and with as many wives as any other Kaffir.

The chiefs generally have the pick of the women for many miles round, and are most persevering in establishing or confirming their privilege. Barren Kaffir women are of rare occurrence. Girls never go out alone; they always walk about in a manner which is said to resemble that of the English school-girl, in couples, with their arms round each other's necks. They marry young; as at an early age, when most European ladies are supposed to be in their prime, these dark creatures become old.

The Kaffir is a most superstitious being; his superstitions, which stand him instead of many civilised institutions and religious excitements, are, as a rule, of a quaint and harmless nature. When a person dies, the Kaffir always says he remembers having observed (and on this occasion his memory is not only retentive, but convenient) certain ill omens which had happened to his kraal as far back as twenty moons. A snake, who represents the devil in some form or other, has been seen entering the hut; or fowls (harmless birds, on whose shoulders may be fastened any *onus* with impunity) passing in front—these he looks upon as being very ominous signs of a death-warrant issued against one or other member of the family. No Kaffir will allow his poultry to be driven in front of his habitation, which, after all, only proves his tenacity of life; they are always kept at the back. If one of the cocks were to perch in front of the kraal, and crow during the night, besides waking the family or any chance guest he might be entertaining, it would be looked upon as a death-warning.

Kaffirs live to a great age, and a respect is shown towards their old men and women, Spartan-like in its tenderness and punctuality. They are generally accompanied by two boys, who lead them about with much care, and give them their daily baths. This feeling of respect is entirely lost in the case of European settlers. I have observed that when a grey-headed white makes his appearance in the colony, especially if his grey hairs be accompanied with other symptoms of senility, the natives hold him in derision and point at him, making signs to one another plainly indicative of a deep feeling of dislike. "Yes," said a Kaffir chief to me, "what a wicked man he must have been to have left his own country in order to have his bones buried in a foreign land." So that there is a great feeling of patriotism at the bottom of this apparent irreverence for old age.

I visited a kraal where a man had just paid the last debt of nature, and his friends were going to bury him, so I remained to see the rites and to obtain what other information I could. At these solemn ceremonies, the Kaffirs exhibit their virtues in the way of patience and self-restraint, which are great, and, above all, of hospitality, the violation of which is considered one of their greatest sins. In pursuance of this idea, it is thought right to provide for the possible requirements of the dead. In the grave with the body they placed three huge calabashes, as large as could be obtained. They were filled with "outchualla" and "mealies", intended for the entertainment of himself and his god; and as it was thought that such luxuries might tempt some companion to visit him in the form of the spirit, a sufficiency was set aside for at least three of them. In the division of his property after death, the ordinary form was followed, and his brother succeeded to the wives of the deceased, who were a great addition to his wealth.

The following description, by Dr. Shortt, of the fifteen crania he presented to the Society's Museum in 1868, was then read:—

Description of Crania from India. By JOHN SHORTT, M.D., Loc. Sec. A.S.L.

The skulls I had the honour of presenting to the Anthropological Society, in May 1868, are from Southern India. At this distant date I am not in a position to describe any of them particularly as regards their formation and peculiarities, but herein I embody briefly the tribes they belonged to, and the localities from whence they were procured. The skulls were fifteen in number, and of these, numbers 1 and 4 belong to the Maraver tribe found in the south of India, in the Madura district. These skulls I obtained from the Sheva-gunga Zemindary, and they belong unmistakably to the Maraver tribe.

These people, as a tribe, are reported to have been thieves at one time. Their caste is low, their language Tamil; and as a tribe, they are well made and intelligent; many of the men are well and regularly featured, and carry themselves well, with a good stout figure and physique; but the women do not seem so well featured, having a breadth about their features, which seems to indicate a Mongolian commixture at some distant period. They perforate their earlobes, and weight them so as to bring them down to the shoulders.

No. 2 is a skull I found at the village of Peapally in the Kurnool district, lying close to the village, with a greater part of the skeleton behind a hedge. From this circumstance I am of opinion that it belonged to a traveller who must have been a pauper that died probably from want and neglect, and the body does not appear to have been buried. The peculiarity of this skull consists in the extreme flatness or straightness of the occipital bone. I believe it to have belonged to a man of the Canarese caste of the Lingaet sect. This I infer from having met, whilst out on a vaccination tour, with a man of this tribe a few miles from the village of Darrowgee in the Bellary district, not many days after finding the said skull. The man started out of his hut on hearing some children cry who were being vaccinated in

the vicinity. Being without a head cloth upon his clean shaved head, the form of his skull at once struck me. I stopped him and examined him carefully, when I found that his head was in every respect a facsimile of the skull I found at Peapally. Unfortunately I had no means of taking any measurements at the time. He seemed to be robust in health, having all his faculties about him, and as intelligent as may be expected from a common villager of his class. I do not remember having seen before a skull of this form in an adult. I had seen it in a couple of natives and one European child; the latter is now a belle of nineteen; the bones of the skull most probably have righted themselves now, for at the time I allude to, she was a child under three years of age.

Nos. 3 was given me by Lieutenant-Colonel Macaulay, who said that he had picked it up on the beach at Negapatam, and believed it to have belonged to a pariah. Nos. 5, 9, 10, 11, and 12, belong to the Canarese tribes, who are Lingaets, a Sudr sect of Hindoos, who wear the lingum in a silver casket suspended either from their necks or tied around the arm. The casket is supposed to contain the symbol of the regenerator Siva representing the *membrum virile* of himself, and the *puendum muliebri* of his wife Parvati. The majority of the Canarese people belong to this sect. These skulls are remarkable for their small size and well rounded form. I obtained them in the village of Darrowgee in the Bellary district. Nos. 6 and 7 belong to a class of pariahs, a low caste Sudrs, who are termed *Calicathiar* meaning literally "Southern people"—they are met with in Salem district. I found them on the Shervaroy Hills employed as coolies on coffee estates, and the few I saw were remarkable for their black skins, sharp intelligent features, and small white regular teeth. Desirous as I was of obtaining further information of these people, my stay was too brief in this district to admit of inquiries being made at the time. However, I have not lost sight of the subject, and hope the next time I visit this district to be able to obtain further information regarding them.

Nos. 8 and 9 belong to another class of pariahs who call themselves *Congo* pariahs. They are believed to be emigrants from the Concans. These people I also found as coolies in the coffee estates. They are I believe scattered about the Salem district in small communities. Skulls Nos. 14 and 15 belong to the Sowrah tribe allied to the Hill tribes of Khondistan in the northern districts of this Presidency, as also in Orissa. I am indebted for both these skulls to the kindness of Mr. Assistant Apothecary Falloon of the Madras Medical Service, who procured them for me from Purlah Idemedy, an estate in the Ganjam district. The few people of the Sowrah tribe I met with in Orissa some years ago did not impress me very favourably as to their intelligence or natural capacity. The majority had low receding foreheads and prominent outstanding upper teeth. Not long ago they gave the Government some trouble in the Kemedi Malias.

The Director read a paper by Dr. S. I. Cassimati entitled—*Hints on the Noömetre, or the right method to be adopted by Anthropology as the basis of every science.*

All men may be classed as *orthæsthetic*—"right-perceiving," or *un-*

orthæsthetic—"wrong-perceiving"—the man of genius and the more or less insane. These should be discriminated at school by competent teachers, who should impart full and superior knowledge to the former class alone, "as capable of learning science and art,—and simply elementary letters to the latter, as unable to acquire *profitably* to themselves and to the State anything beyond sheer manipulation." The *orthæsthetic* will thus form "a naturally legitimate *caste*" to which sovereignty in the State will belong, subserviency being the deserved lot of the *unorthæsthetic*, on account of their fallacious perceptiveness.

The meeting then adjourned.

NOVEMBER 30TH, 1869.

JOHN BEDDOE, Esq., M.D., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

John Platts, Esq., 24, Ifield Road, West Brompton, and A. E. Harris, Esq., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta, were elected Fellows. J. W. Peebles, Esq., U.S. Consul for Trebizond, was elected a Local Secretary.

The presents received since the last meeting were announced as follows:—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, part 2, vol. ii.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 8, 1869.

From Dr. C. CARTER BLAKE, F.G.S.—A Ride across a Continent, 2 vols. By F. Boyle, F.R.G.S.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, Nos. 1—6, 1869.

From the ACADEMY.—Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie, Afdeeling Natuurkunde, Deel. iii. Jaarboek, ditto, ditto, 1868. Processen-Verbaal Van de Gewone Vergaderingen, 1868-9.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, No. 5, vol. xiii.

From the EDITOR.—Medical Press and Circular, to date.

From the EDITOR.—Scientific Opinion, to date.

From the EDITOR.—Nature, to date.

From Dr. E. T. RYAN TENISON.—British Medical Journal, to date.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing Dr. Leitner, said: I think I may say that, of all those parts of the earth's surface of which our knowledge is at present very limited, there is none which ought to have greater interest for us than that which has been explored by Dr. Leitner, not merely in a geographical, but in an anthropological and philological point of view. The territory into which he has penetrated has been said to be the navel of the world, the cradle of nations. We understand that within the limits of that tract he has

not only found tribes hitherto unknown and undescribed, but he has also discovered the existence of three or four languages hitherto altogether unknown, which promise to be of the highest importance to anthropology and philology. There appears to be good reason to believe that he has found there not merely the brethren of the Sanscrit, but the parents, or, so to speak, the uncles of the Sanscrit language. This alone would have been a mighty discovery; but Dr. Leitner has much more to tell you.

Dr. G. W. LEITNER then read a paper "On the Shiná People," as follows: Before I proceed to what is more particularly my object this evening, it will be necessary for me to state in what respect a former tour to Ladak and adjacent provinces undertaken by myself throws light on that particular tour to Dardistan and the manners and customs of the Shiná people, to hear about whom you have come here to-night. One tour, in fact, led to the other. It will be necessary for me very briefly to give an account of that tour, remembering, at the same time, that I have in another place already spoken of it; and, therefore, whilst keeping its general outlines in view, I shall endeavour to give you such new facts as will compensate those of you who were present at the other meeting for having again come to hear me. The main point—of course, the Shiná people—I touch upon to-night for the first time.

The first tour was undertaken at the end of April 1866, and continued during the months of May and June of that year. An important fact which it established was, that certain passes, hitherto deemed inaccessible during that period of the year, were crossed by myself and my companion, H. Cowie (whom I had subsequently the misfortune of losing), by striking in a southerly direction, by the Shingún and Marang, instead of by the Baralacha and Lachalung, passes. We came to Leh fully six weeks before the usual passes were open. This proved that Ladak was accessible by Zanskar and the Kyang plain, earlier than was supposed. The tour also somewhat shook my belief in the rarefaction of the air in high altitudes. It is true that on the Shingún, having been caught in a snowstorm, and being under the necessity of spending the subsequent night on the icy summits, symptoms of fatigue presented themselves, and caused a sensation of faintness, but I experienced no undue bleeding from the nose, when we were actually come to the highest altitude of that pass; this circumstance alone was not favourable for determining—at all events, in our case—the effect of certain altitudes. One thing is certain: that, when afterwards crossing the Marang at an altitude of 18,200 feet, we did not feel the slightest inconvenience.

In order not to tread upon ground trodden on before, and which has been so admirably dealt with by General Cunningham, I found it necessary, by a system of runners going to important monasteries, to have performed before me those religious plays which have not hitherto been described. I may also mention that, when passing through Zanskar, and stopping for a short time at the monastery of Pugdal, I was able to see the great influence which an European had had on the abbot of that place, and, indeed, on the whole of the Zanskar people.

The moment I mentioned that I was acquainted with the name of Csoma de Körös, who had been for some years in the Pugdal Monastery, I seemed to find friends springing up around me. This man had spent some years there, and had so strongly imbued the abbot of the place with ideas of progress, that he had abolished the worship of the prayer-wheel, and offered to take any Englishman or countryman of the "Palingi dasa" or European disciple, as Körös was called, into Lassa. The only persons who are reported to have been there are French missionaries; but nothing more is known, for these missionaries have not been seen. At all events, with the exception of Montgomery's pundit, I believe Lassa has not recently been visited; and we ought to consider whether it is not worth while for any enlightened traveller to avail himself of the offer of the abbot, and go to settle the unsolved questions connected with Tibet Proper. Of course, on this tour we had certain hardships to undergo, which it is only necessary to speak of in the most general terms, as will be done by a mere reference to the fact that we lost two of our companions from exposure, and, in the case of Cowie, one from accident. At the conclusion of that tour, the Indian Government requested me to try to find out some particulars regarding Chilas, and whether it was not possible to identify it with the Kaylas or Hindu Olympus. It was at once pointed out that they were in altogether opposite directions; but the Government also wished me to find out something regarding the Chilasi dialect, and I was told that at Srinagar I should find all the assistance I might require, as the Maharajah of Kashmir had some Chilasi prisoners, from whom I might acquire an insight into the dialect. It is unnecessary for me to enter into the particulars of why I was unable to obtain satisfactory information from them. Fearful that I was wasting my time, I was obliged to transgress the general order connected with the crossing of the frontier; and, although specially warned at the time—that warning being supported by the desertions of my men—that the country was in a state of war, I found it necessary to advance at once to the frontier; and, if I did not get there the information I required, I determined to cross over, and endeavour by that means to carry out the objects of the mission on which I was sent. Owing to the state of the country, and from other causes, we gradually dwindled down from fifty retainers to two.

I will now state exactly what I have done, how far I have gone, and the mode which I adopted in my inquiries. Henry Lawrence, Vans Agnew, and, I believe, Colonel Young, had gone as far as the frontier of Gilghit. Middle Tibet had been satisfactorily explored, and in connection with it I am able to give supplementary information only; but the entirely new information which I am able to give refers to the countries lying south of the Hindu Kush and north of Khagan. There are to be found the following languages, which are now committed to writing for the first time:—SHINA is the language spoken by the Chilasis, the only Sunni Mahomedans of the Shiná race; also that of the Gilghitis, Astoris, Dareylis and Gor, and is mixed with Pushtu on the great Koli-Palus road; ARNYIA is the language of Chitral and Yassen, whose people are Shia Mahomedans;

KHAJUNA is the remarkable language of Hunza and Nagyr, and KALASHA that of the eastern ranges, at all events, of Kafirstan.

The peculiar tradition of the ferocity of the inhabitants and the inaccessibility of these countries seem to have frightened away travellers; I went four marches beyond where any other European had been. At the same time, the heights of neighbouring mountains had already enabled our surveyors to take a view of the Ghilghit territory. The country itself had not been visited before I did so, in 1866. The reputation of its being inaccessible, I ascertained to be unfounded. For certain political reasons, which it is not necessary for me to explain, this reputation was kept up, and so it was believed in India. The Dards were credited with cannibalism, a custom which, as far as my own observation extends, does not in any way exist among them. I found the country involved in warfare. All the tribes, Yassen, Chitral, Ghilghit, Hunza, Nagyr, Gôr, and, to a certain extent, Chilas, had all coalesced in this year of 1866 to fight the Maharajah of Kashmir, who was invading their country. It was supposed by the Maharajah that certain facts would be established in connection with his invasion of the country, which it was not to his interest to allow me to obtain. I found that the whole of the tribes were collected together; and, although the Maharajah was in actual possession of the Ghilghit fort, and the country was apparently more than decimated, the roofs of the houses being blown off, and not a single native being visible, yet, by my sending round a man with a drum to intimate that I was ready to give a feast to any of those races who chose to come, I collected together on the first evening no less than 150 people of different races, whom I afterwards entertained, and with whom I soon got on friendly terms. Whatever might be the ferocity of these people, they never shewed it to me, although they certainly did to the Sepoys of the Maharajah, whom they shot at from their ambushes. I was once attacked, but this was checked by the timely use of revolvers by those who accompanied me, and the rapidity of the firing induced the attacking party to explain that the whole thing was a mistake.

This second tour occupied three months. From Ghilghit and other districts, I took back some men to the Panjab with me. I there had them in my house, and I was thus enabled to check the information which I had collected in a miscellaneous way during my progress to Ghilghit. The mode which I adopted was this:—Whenever I was lucky enough to find one of these Dards who knew something of Hindustani or Kashmiri, what I said could be, in some degree, translated. In many instances I had to proceed by pointing out simple objects, then to the use of imperatives, and then proceed to infinitives and so on. By afterwards having the men in my house, by asking them separately, then by twos and threes together, and then making one man ask the others the same questions, I gradually came to the approximate certainty which is attainable in so complicated a subject. I adopted, in fact, the process which has been adopted and recommended by accurate philological inquirers. I need scarcely say that once in tolerable possession of the language, I could proceed to songs, legends and other things, but when I could get a man who understood a language with

which I was acquainted, I, of course, made use of him. In other words I made use of all the means possible to a traveller, and succeeded in checking what I had already gained. The Shiná portion of my vocabulary and the statistical information will not be shaken. We now come to the language of Chitral, which, like Shiná, is Sanscritic in its nature, and from its high state of inflection and from the preservation of pure sounds, and the monosyllabic nature of the roots, does not appear to have suffered that phonetic decay which most of the Sanscrit dialects have experienced. Nor does there appear to have been that loss of inflections which characterises some of the present vernaculars of India. With regard to the language of Kafiristan, the two Kafirs, whom I afterwards had with me, were youths with whose information I was not altogether satisfied, but I believe that now, for the first time, I have something like a real vocabulary of that hitherto mythical region.

The whole of the Dard country consists of valleys inhabited by people, all of whom have a superstition regarding their neighbours of the ferocity and cannibalism already mentioned, which has kept foreigners from visiting them, and which even among themselves prevents anything like intercourse. Three of the languages are, at all events, of Sanscrit character. And now we come to a most peculiar language, the Khajuná. Although not altogether unacquainted with a variety of languages I was unable to find any connection between the language of Hunza-Nagyr and that of any other country. The information is not enough to solve the problems regarding the inflections of certain verbs; but sufficient is obtained to give us a great puzzle. This language has been declared to be a puzzle by the savans and societies to whom I have submitted it, and no affinity to any other known language has been traced in it. It seems to me that if the tour had established nothing else it would have established this—that the excessive reluctance of our Government to allow the available pluck of India to show itself in explorations across the frontier is not altogether justifiable. In the presence of a most interesting frontier, in some cases only a few hours walk, we are depending to a very great extent on obscure rumours; and, secondly, on information supplied to us by our friends, the Russians. This is scarcely the most creditable state of things that can be imagined. This tour has at all events shown this: not only with regard to Ghilghit and some places beyond, which I have visited, whilst in a state of warfare—dangerous in every country, civilised or uncivilised—but also with regard to explorations generally, that by merely taking ordinary precautions and not trying at every turn to tread on the toe of social and religious prejudices it is possible for Europeans to go anywhere. But it seems that even that tour of 1866 has not altogether induced those who have the power, to give help to men who have the readiness to explore and further elucidate this almost unknown region, for fear of the complications which may arise. Now, if the matter were put upon the lowest grounds, we might say that if men are foolish enough to risk their lives for the sake of science, —though for my part I know of nothing more justifiable than

that they should do so—but if it were to be put on those low grounds—it certainly does not appear that the authorities ought to refuse assistance when it is for their interest that these risks are undertaken. The question of avenging the death of a man is irrelevant in most cases, and in others it may be totally put aside, especially when we have the instances of Stoddart and Conolly who, although they were murdered in Bokhara, are not yet avenged.

The people of Dardistan seem to have the remnants of an old civilisation somewhat resembling the purest parts of the Arian polity. This, however, has been obscured by the introduction of Mohammedanism into the country, but Mohammedanism sits upon the people very loosely, and allows us to perceive through it those vestiges to which I have alluded, and in corroboration of which statement I intend, if your patience will permit me, to point out a few.

The position of woman is in every respect higher than amongst the Hindus. In Chilas, even, where exists the only real intolerant Mahomedanism, the women take part in public council, and when an effort was made to invade their country some years ago, the women resisted the invading troops, and when driven back into the streets adjoining the fort are said to have poured hot oil on the heads of the Kashmir invaders. Again, if it be a sign of civilisation to have anything to do with the prize-ring, the men and women of Chilas certainly assert their superiority by what is certainly very much like boxing. In the case of women their iron wristlets are brought over their hands when engaging in that pastime. Mohammedanism is in Dardu land divided into its two great divisions, Shia and Sunni. Ghilghit, Yassen, Hunza and Nagyr belong to the former division. The Chilas are more bigoted than any of the rest. The Hunza people known by the name of Kunjutis infest the road between Hunza and Yarkand, and, indeed, it is to this people that I owe the accident of my Karkandi's brother having been caught and carried into slavery. The people of Kunjut are certainly very determined robbers, but their luck seems to have deserted them, since Central Asian traders now avoid the road. There is one point in connection with this road which I would mention. The Mishtutsh Pass, which is supposed to be here (near Hunza), is here (nearer Chittrol); which shows how dangerous it is to take measurements from distant hills, without regard to the countries which lie behind, or without actual exploration under a variety of circumstances. There are some interesting anecdotes among the Chitrals, of which I will mention two. When Gour Rahmar, the former ruler of Chittrol, turned to be a Sunni, he thought it to be a matter of lucre and faith to sell his Shia subjects into slavery, as it appeared to him to be the means of realising a large revenue. He is supposed to have sold his mother into Badakshan; and, when remonstrated with for having sold her who had suckled him, he is said to have pointed to a cow and said: "This cow continues to give me milk, and I would have no hesitation in selling her; how much more, then, one whose time has been so long over?" And, again, when a saint of Mohammed, a great Moulvi, remonstrated with him for selling him into slavery, he said: "We have no hesitation in selling the Koran,

the word of God ; how much less shall we hesitate to sell the expounder of the word of God ?

This Gour Rahman thought Ghilghit a favourable ground for kidnapping expeditions, and there is no doubt that it was subjected to incursions from him, and that at one time he ruled over it ; so much so that a short time before I was there three men were selling for a pony, two for a large piece of cloth (*pattu*), and one for a good hunting dog. This last is not altogether to the discredit of the Dardos, since the appreciation of the friendship of the dog is utterly un-Mohammedan in its nature ; and it points out the possibility in their nature of a more generous appreciation of the natural objects by which they are surrounded. With regard to Kafiristan, it is almost certain that no cannibalism exists there. The Kafirs were supposed to be a sort of fair-haired and blue-eyed people ; and there is no doubt that one of the youths had light eyes, and he certainly was fairer than a Hindoo, for instance. But I certainly should not have thought of identifying the Kafir with the European. On inquiring amongst the lads who came down to me in the Punjab, they said that when they caught a Mohammedan of distinction, they drank a certain portion of his blood, evidently more out of bravado than from appetite.

With regard to the religion of the Kafirs it is very difficult to arrive at any correct information with respect to them. The two men I had with me were not favourable specimens. They had passed through Kashmir, and had stayed there for some time. Their ideas of a deity had been affected by the teachings to which they had been subjected by the Hindoos. It was quite clear that they were the greatest enemies of Mohammedans ; therefore, naturally, the Hindoos tried to make them believe that they were Hindoos. My opinion is that they are not Hindoos ; in fact the only religion amongst the Kafirs seems to consist in putting a stone on the top of a large heap of stones on the summit of a high mountain, once a year. The two Kafirs who were with me certainly tried to make me believe that they had a religion, and they spoke of Indra and Mahadeo, but I believe that they were taught to say so, and were utterly devoid of any spirit of religion, although they tried to palm off on me that they had some religion. When you see on the map the country which I call Dardistan, and which comprises the Sunni district of Chilas, the Shiá districts of Ghilghit, Hunza, Nagyr, Yassen, Chitral, etc., and Kafiristan (about which, although I have a considerable vocabulary, and a great deal of interesting information, a great many doubts remain), and when there are over a hundred names to be put into this map—names of rivers, villages, cities, etc.—you will perhaps regret, with myself, that I am not able to complete it, as I am obliged to leave this country in a few days and go back to official work. However it is something to have got a little more knowledge of the relative positions of these countries. I will now proceed to read you some of the customs of the people of Shiná. The farther you proceed in the eastward direction from Tibet, the more you will perceive the jawbone less protruding, the colour lighter, and in the case of an attack which I have mentioned, I was interested in finding that the chieftain of the party had perfectly fair hair of almost

a yellowish hue, and that his face strongly reminded me of the Cosacks I have seen during the Russian war. I may mention, incidentally, that a report which appeared in the *Invalide Russe* crediting me with having been at Herat and fighting on the side of the Bokharians is utterly untrue. I shall now conclude my account by calling your attention to the Yarkandi, who is here to-night, and to the collection of articles from his country, and will also read some notes which I have jotted down, on the customs of the Shiná people as illustrated by some of their legends.

Dr. Leitner then read a legend, and the following account of some of the social customs of the Shiná people, which indicated a peculiar polity and civilisation.

Three days after the birth of a child in Ghilghit a large company assembles, and the father gives it its name, or gets some one to fix his hand at random on a passage or word in the Koran. Both men and women assemble together. Till the child receives its name the mother is declared impure. In Ghilghit the woman is separated from her husband for twenty days, and the bedclothes are washed previous to her being restored to him. The men and women eat together. Marriage in Ghilghit appears to be a more simple ceremony than in Chilas. The father of the young man comes to the father of the girl with four yards of cloth, and a pumpkin filled with wine, and if the presents be accepted the marriage is to take place. The betrothal is inviolable, and is only broken by the death of the woman. The young man has liberty to dissolve the contract after the marriage has taken place, but the married woman cannot do this. The ceremony takes place at the bride's house, and prayers having been read, the ceremony commences. The young man is accompanied by twelve of his friends, and when the ceremony has taken place a song is sung. The relationship between husband and wife is not altogether dissimilar to that amongst ourselves. Not the least hesitation is felt at a friend of the husband's calling on his friend's wife, and no suspicion is felt on that account. There is such a thing as courtship amongst them, very similar to our own, and very dissimilar to what exists among the Mussulmans of India. There are many things which show the people to be purer Aryans than the Hindoos. Mohammedanism sets very loosely on them. The seduction of a girl is very severely punished, and for such an offence the Shiná people know no pardon. The Shén is the first of the castes into which the people are divided, the Yustgan being the next. If a man of the Shén caste seduces a girl of the Yustgan caste, it is for a Yustgan man to take revenge. When a Yustgan seduces a Shén girl it is a stain on the honour of the family, and attempts will be made on both sides to revenge the affront. Marriage is a different matter. A Shén man may marry a Yustgan girl, but even then there is a certain distinction of caste. The trust which man and wife place in each other, may be illustrated by some of their songs. In one the wife looks at her husband surrounded by girls, all flirting with him, and anxious to gain his attention. She sits in a far corner and says, "They are little birds. They fly gaily about, seeking enjoyment from a flower which, after all, belongs only to me. It is I, his wedded wife,

who can look gaily at your amusement." In another song there is another scene, in which again the relationship of the sexes is put on a different footing from what it is in India. The woman, dazzled by the wealth of an elder suitor, rejects the younger one. She afterwards bitterly regrets it, and the young man sings to this effect—"Now, what good has been the alliance of the dove with the bear? You still have to come looking at your mirror, and putting antimony in your eyes, and recall the recollection of your refused lover." I mean to say that, looking at the number of these legends, and the peculiarity of the customs, this must have been the first halting-place of the Aryans on their way to India. It is surely worth while to investigate the subject. I would not lay so much stress on this point if I did not speak with a certain sense of regret. I do not blame the existence of rules which may be very necessary for the preservation of order and discipline, but it seems to me that if any dangers exist they should be left to the man who is willing to risk his life for the sake of new discoveries, rather than to one staying at home.

I will now proceed to say a few words with reference to the Yarkandi. I should never have thought of asking a man of these countries to accompany me; but this man, who had reached Lahor, asked that he might accompany me. It was such an extraordinary request for a native of that country to make, and the opportunity being thus thrown in my way, I should have thought myself neglecting my duty to science if I had refused to accede to his request. Here is the first member of a race with whom we profess to wish to enter into relations, absolutely volunteering to leave his own country and come into what is to him a land of infidels. I therefore brought him with me. It seems to me that, considering the fact that we have now a real native of that country, we are bound to extract from him such information as he can give us, and to give him in return such information concerning our own trades and manufactures as it is in our power to impart. Yarkand is a much more important country than was once supposed, in a commercial sense, and in a philological sense also. As this man is the first of his race who has visited this country, we can make him the pioneer of our civilisation when he returns. Shall I take this man back? The Yarkands will laugh at our pretensions of wishing to enter into relations with them if, when one of their own race has been all the way to London, he should return without seeing or being asked anything. I am not personally inclined to take him back with me, for it seems to me that we should try to make him remember this country, not by the kindness of one, but by the kindness of many. And this is especially important when there are so many who, if they had the opportunity, would be glad to take him by the hand and show him what there is to be seen, and give him every information. It is a matter in which I have no personal interest, since I am willing to make him over to anyone sufficiently able and interested to take charge of him. It is an opportunity which may never occur again. He is a man who can give us information *at first hand*. We are now congratulating ourselves extravagantly for very indifferent information at second hand from Mr. Shaw and Mr. Heyward, who were, it is said,

not permitted to go beyond a courtyard some ten yards long whilst at Yarkand and Kashgher. Perhaps I ought not to take so much interest in the matter, but I should not feel that I had done my duty. Dr. Leitner then explained the various curiosities which he had brought for inspection.

The CHAIRMAN moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Leitner for his highly important and eloquent address, which was passed by acclamation.

The following gentlemen spoke briefly, and addressed various questions to Dr. Leitner:—Dr. Beddoe, Major Levenson, Mr. W. C. Dendy, Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., Dr. Seemann, Mr. K. R. H. Mackenzie, Mr. A. L. Lewis, Mr. J. Jones, Major Owen; and Dr. Leitner replied. He said the whole extent of the ground in the Himalayas, old and new, over which he had travelled, was 1600 miles. Everything in the shape of literature, writing, or engraving in these countries belonged to Tibet and to Balti. The Chinese character of several of the articles pointed out by Mr. Wood was owing to the fact that Yarkand, from which they came, was formerly subject to China. It was a fact worthy of note that Hindooism was encroaching upon Buddhism. It had always been believed that Hindooism was unproselytising, but recent events did not confirm this belief. Evidence of this was to be found in the attempts made to get those who were not Mohammedans—*e. g.*, the Siah Posh Kafirs, and the Buddhists—to declare themselves Hindoos. With regard to a question put by Mr. Lewis, he (Dr. Leitner) was not prepared to state whether any monuments similar to our Druidical monuments were to be found. Monuments of various kinds existed in Tibet, but in Ghilghit there were none. Whatever could be seen of literature referred to Tibet of Yarkand, but the Dards had had their languages written down for the first time by himself. An immense amount of material yet remained to be published. The food of the countries was of the coarsest kind, and they had caverns in the mountains, each family alone knowing the road to its own particular cavern. His men could always obtain food, whilst the Maharajah's troops were starving. There was wine in Ghilghit, and beer, made in the same way as ours, but not purified. The beer was a very nasty sort of drink, but the wine was a little better. This they drank at all their meetings, but especially at funerals. With regard to a question put by Dr. Seemann—in the towns the houses were covered in the loosest manner with a rough kind of roof, over which a kind of terrace, formed by steps, was placed. The traditions of Ghilghit were unwritten, and it was a difficult task to get them while the country was in a state of war. Among these traditions was one relating to the emancipation of the country from the rule of a monster who fed on young children, and which might possibly have some connection with the belief that cannibalism existed in the country. Major Levenson had suggested the possibility of some of these tribes being identical with the Jewish race. Although many whom he (Dr. Leitner) had met had a somewhat Jewish cast of countenance, he was not acquainted with any tradition or anything else that would identify them with the Jews.

Dr. SEEMANN moved, and Mr. BRABROOK seconded, the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:—

Resolved—"That the exploration of our frontier and of the countries near to Central Asia, which are at present an almost *terra incognita*, is of the utmost importance to anthropology; and that the Indian Government will confer the greatest boon upon our science by giving whatever support and encouragement it may have in its power to those enterprising and courageous travellers who are willing and able to risk their lives in the attempt."

The meeting then adjourned.

DECEMBER 14TH, 1869.

DR. R. S. CHARNOCK, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

The following presents were announced, and thanks were voted to the respective donors:—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the SOCIETY.—Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris
Fev. et Avril, 1869.

From the EDITOR.—Nature, to date.

From the EDITOR.—American Eclectic Medical Review, Nos. 1, 2, 3,
4, and 5, of vol. v.

From Dr. E. T. RYAN TENISON.—British Medical Journal.

From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Ethnological Society, October,
No. 3.

From Dr. BURMEISTER.—Anales del Museo Publico de Buenos Aires,
No. 6, 1869.

From Dr. B. SEEMANN.—Discourses on the Malevolent Sentiment :
John Hey, D.D. Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs in
Italy : Rev. J. J. Blunt. A Philosophical Treatise on the Pas-
sions : Dr. J. Cogan.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
September 1869.

FOR THE MUSEUM.

From the Rev. J. G. WOOD, M.A., F.L.S.—Reversible bow and two
arrows from Cashmere. Pellet bow from India.

MR. C. STANILAND WAKE, F.A.S.L., read a paper on "The Race Ele-
ments of the Madecasses."

Until the appearance, in 1858, of the Rev. William Ellis's narrative of his three visits to Madagascar, almost the only particulars we had of the aborigines of this great island were those furnished by the French travellers, Flacourt and Rochon, and by the captive English sailor, Drury. Other writers have described them, and sought to establish their race affinity; but they have added little to the particulars that had already been furnished us by the earlier writers. Of these, Drury is especially valuable, as he lived for many years among the dark tribes of the south and west of Madagascar, who probably

showed the characters of the aboriginal population in their primitive phase. The tribes observed by the French travellers mentioned, although in most particulars they agree with those on the opposite side of the island, visited by Drury, apparently showed traces of early foreign intercourse. In 1822, a History of Madagascar was written and published on behalf of the London Missionary Society, by Samuel Copland; but, although it gives many details relating to the island and the customs of its inhabitants, it was, as it professed to be, founded on the works of previous writers, chiefly those of Flacourt, Rochon, and Drury, and the travels of Benyowsky, who appears to have been for some time among the tribes of the north-west coast. These people are the same as Drury met with and described under the name of Saccalauvor, the Sakalaves of later writers. It was not, however, until Mr. Ellis's visit to Madagascar that much became known of the inhabitants of the north-eastern part of the island, or of the interior tribe who, under the name of Hovas, have now established their supremacy throughout nearly the whole country. The most recent description of the Madecasses has been given in a paper read before the Anthropological Society of London by Lieut. Oliver. This paper is full of most interesting details; but it does not attempt to deal scientifically with the vexed question of their origin or racial affinities; and it is to throw some light on this subject, by deduction from the data furnished us by Mr. Ellis and other travellers, that this paper has been written.

Mr. Ellis, in his interesting work, *Three Visits to Madagascar*, thus describes the physical appearance of the Hovas, who inhabit the central mountain district of Ankova. After stating that "many of the Hovas possessed remarkably well-formed heads," he continues: "The foreheads were always well shaped, even when the space between the eyebrows and the hair, as in some few instances, was comparatively narrow. The eyes were never large or projecting, but clear and bright, and the eyebrows well defined without being heavy. The nose was frequently aquiline and firm, never thick and fleshy; it was, however, more frequently straight, and sometimes short and broad, without fulness at the end. The lips were generally slightly projecting, though seldom round and large..... Style of feature seems to mark the Hovas much more distinctly than colour or hair. The colour of some of the Hovas is as dark as that of the most swarthy races in the island, while their hair is straight or curling, and their features exhibit the peculiar form of the European; and, even where the hair is frizzled or crisped, as is occasionally the case, the features exhibit no approach to the Negro type."

The conclusion Mr. Ellis draws from a comparison of the physical appearance of the Hovas with that of the other tribes of Madagascar is that the former belong to a distinct stock, and that they are "descended from the ancient race from which the Malayan Archipelago and Eastern Polynesia derive their inhabitants." This conclusion, which is supported by certain affinities of language and resemblance of customs, to which I shall afterwards refer, is apparently confirmed by Lieutenant Oliver, who declares that there are "two special types

of men" in Madagascar, the one, the light, represented by the Hovas, the Betanimenas, and two other tribes, whose physiology he says is "Mongol with affinities to the Malays," and the other, the dark, of which the Salaklaves present the type.

The Eastern origin thus ascribed to the lighter-complexioned Madecasses may be the true one, but I would point out a consequence which has not been sufficiently considered. Mr. Ellis says: "In Madagascar itself different dialects exist. The spoken language of the Hovas, and others inhabiting the interior provinces, differs from that on the coasts, where the *ny* is frequently used. Still, in its verbal form and grammatical structure, one language may be said to pervade the entire country." This testimony, which is confirmed by Mr. Griffiths in his *Malagasy Grammar*, is valuable, and leads to an important conclusion. For, if the Hovas, judging by their language, have had an Eastern origin, so must all the other Madecasse tribes; unless, indeed, the language spoken by the latter has been imposed on them by the Hovas. The latter people are certainly now predominant, but their supremacy has been too recently established to allow us to suppose that the imposition of their language on the other tribes has been since effected.

The earliest reference, by an European writer, to the Hovas, appears to be in the description given by Drury of the visit to the Northern Sakalaves of two ambassadors from "a mountainous inland place, divided into two kingdoms called Amboer-Lambo, which were governed by two brothers." The description of this inland country and its products given by Drury agrees very well with Ankova, and the opinion that the writer really referred to the Hovas is confirmed in a curious way. Dr. Pickering, of the United States Exploring Expedition, says that two Hovas whom he saw at Zanzibar, were there called "Ambolambo from Booken." What *Booken* means, I do not know; but Ambolambo, which in Malagasy means "smoothness, glibness," is evidently the "Amboer-Lambo" of Drury. This writer adds that the inhabitants of the inland mountainous district were at one time too strong for the Sakalaves; but there is nothing in his language to lead us to suppose that he intended anything more than a casual superiority, and in Drury's time the Sakalaves, owing to the introduction of European weapons, were the more powerful.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the known data as to the relative positions of the ancestors of the Hovas and the other Madecasse tribes, is that, although the former may at various times have made themselves formidable to their neighbours, yet that they never had such a supremacy as to enable them to impose their language on the latter. We are justified in inferring, therefore, from their possession of a common language, that all the Madecasses have had a common origin. This inference is confirmed, moreover, by what we know of their customs and superstitions, which do not appear to materially differ in the various parts of the island, except only so far as that the Hovas may have made greater advances in the arts of civilisation, although this is doubtless a very recent phenomenon. Now, if one thing in relation to the dark tribes of Madagascar is more certain than any other, it is their African affinity. As I shall show, these

tribes, at least, undoubtedly belong to the race which is spread over Eastern and Southern Africa, being related more especially to the Kafir and other tribes of the south-eastern coast. This can be established by a comparison of physical structure, customs, and language, and I do not see how we can escape from extending this African affinity to the Hovas themselves. It can be shown, indeed, that, even in physical characteristics, the Hovas are not so far removed from some of the peoples of Eastern Africa as is generally supposed. Not that the Hovas have *no* Malayan or Polynesian affinities. I only deny that these are of the paramount importance usually ascribed to them. The fact is that the Madacasses hold a very curious and peculiar position. Not only are they related to the peoples of Southern Africa, and of the Malayan Archipelago, but, as I shall show, they have certain points of affinity with the Abyssinians, and the so-called Semitic race, and even with the peoples of the Anamitic stock. It would seem, indeed, as though the Madacasses are related to all the peoples surrounding the basin of the Indian Ocean, and even the Hovas are much more likely to have had a local origin, than to have been derived from the Malayan Archipelago.

I shall have to treat more particularly hereafter of this part of the subject, and I would here draw your attention to a very remarkable phenomenon, which will, I think, throw much light on the whole question before us. I refer to the existence, side by side, at several localities at a distance from each other, within the tropics, of dark and light peoples, who *apparently* have as little affinity as the Hovas and the dark tribes of Madagascar are supposed to have. The importance of this phenomenon is increased by the fact that these localities are exactly those where rival theories require that the place of origin of the Madecasses should be placed. Thus, in South Africa we have the Kafirs and the Hottentots, and in the Indian Archipelago the Malays and the Papuans. Now, not only have we here the remarkable division into dark and light tribes, but it can be shown, I think, that the several dark tribes, and even that the several light tribes, of these various localities, have certain characteristics in common which prove their close relationship. In fact, all the dark tribes are evidently merely separate branches of a single dark race spread throughout the tropics, as the other tribes belong to a light race similarly distributed.

In the physical structure of the dark peoples of the tropics, notwithstanding certain differences inseparable from long-continued existence under varying conditions of climate and life, there is, undoubtedly, if we may believe the reports of travellers, a certain general agreement quite sufficient to lead us to infer that they have all sprung from a common stock. Mr. Wallace declares that the Polynesians belong to the Papuan race; and, if this be so, as there is reason to suppose, there can be no difficulty in believing that the Kafirs and the Papuans belong to the same race. Moreover, the dark tribes of Madagascar form a connecting link between these races not merely in position, but also in type. M. Lesson was so much struck with the resemblance between the Papuans and the dark people of Southern Madagascar, that he concluded that the former had proceeded from

this island; and he was no less struck with the physical agreement between the dark Madecasses and the Kafirs of South Africa. A special peculiarity in which the Papuans and the Kafirs agree is in the long nose, which strikes every traveller as being a Semitic character. I am not aware whether this is a characteristic of the dark tribes of Madagascar; but probably it is not entirely wanting among the Sakalaves, judging from the fact that some of them wear a ring in the cartilage of the nose. Difference in character of the hair is a matter of little importance. That of the Madecasses is certainly, as a rule, straighter than the hair of the Papuans or Kafirs, but this is not always so. Some of their tribes have frizzly hair, and occasionally even it is frizzed into the form of a mop, as practised by the Papuans. The hair of the Kafir more nearly approaches the Papuan character, not merely in being constantly frizzled, but in its tendency to grow in tufts. Mr. Ellis remarks that some of the Madecasses, even among the Hovas, have frizzly hair, but he adds that he never met with one with hair so woolly as that of many of the Kafirs—notably of Sechele, “the tall, noble-looking chief of Kolobeng,” as he is described, “the covering of whose finely formed head hung down, not in ringlets, but in cords of the most closely matted fine woolly hair.” In this respect, as in their prognathism, the East Africans make a nearer approach to the negro type. Drury incidentally refers to the strong smell of the Sakalave skin, and Mr. H. Y. Barrett, a late resident in Natal, makes the same observation as to the Kafirs. This is a characteristic of little importance in itself, but it confirms the conclusion arrived at from other data. Mr. Logan, who has examined minutely into the question, gives the physical characteristics of what he says might be called the Indo-African type, to which he refers several of the Madecasse tribes. These characteristics are “the spiral hair, the oval and sometimes elongated form of the face, the moderate thickness of the lips, which in some varieties even become thin, the general absence of the prognathous form, which is so marked a peculiarity of some of the African and Asianesian negroes, and of the obliquity of the ocular opening and smallness of the eye which distinguishes many of the East Asian races; the nose, full and somewhat flat, but sometimes slightly aquiline, and, in general, standing out from the face much more than in the South-east Asian races; the anterior projection of the cheek bones; and, on the whole, a general cast of countenance decidedly retiring from that of the Guinea negro on the one side, and the Mongol on the other.” The general conclusion arrived at by Mr. Logan would probably be that entertained by Blumenbach, who says that the Papuans and New Hollanders “graduate away so insensibly towards the Ethiopian variety, that if it was thought convenient, they might not unfairly be classed with them.”

The chief physical characteristic, however, on which many anthropologists will rely is the skull; and although, in the absence of a considerable number of specimens, only very general conclusions as to cranial affinity can be formed, yet these conclusions may be used as confirmatory evidence. Thus, the general deduction from the measurements given in Dr. J. Barnard Davis' *Thesaurus Craniorum* is

that the skulls of both Kafirs and Papuans are *dolichocephalic*. Dr. Davis appears, moreover, to think that such is also the general character of the Madecasse skull, although less prominently so. In this the dark peoples are distinguished from the natives of the western part of the Malayan Archipelago, whose skulls are *brachycephalic*. I shall have again to refer to craniological phenomena, and I would add here only that, while they point to the general conclusion that all the branches of the dark race, excluding perhaps the Polynesians, whose Papuan character is somewhat doubtful, are *dolichocephalic*; yet, on the one hand, this character does not belong exclusively to them—it being exhibited by the Hottentots, and in a less degree by the light tribes of Madagascar, and the Dyaks—and, on the other hand, the dark tribes of New Caledonia, and the neighbouring islands, have a tendency to *brachycephalism*.

In treating of the mental characteristics and customs of the peoples now under examination, the object of this paper is not to give them a full description, but merely to point out peculiar traits in which the peoples themselves thus agree. The special agreement of the Madecasses with the Kafirs is in nothing more observable than in their pastoral character; and, in the absence of domestic cattle, we might be tempted to believe that the Papuans bear to the Madecasses much the same relation as the semi-Negro tribes of West Africa bear to the pastoral tribes of the East Coast. The whole social economy of the Madecasses, as described by Drury, bears the greatest resemblance to that still exhibited in South Africa. Living in communities, each under its particular chief, their villages were either built in places defensible by nature, or stockaded with stakes, prickly shrubs, or trees, apparently more for the protection of their cattle than of their wives and children. This defence was, in the time of Drury at least, absolutely necessary, owing to the continual warfare between neighbouring tribes, caused by disputes as to cattle or women, agreeing well with the description of Kafir life depicted by South African travellers. The incidents of this warfare are the same. The object in each case is the capture of cattle and slaves—the grown men being nearly always killed, while the women and children are almost as universally spared. These peoples are not, however, absolutely barbarous in the conduct of their armed disputes, as, among both Madecasses and Kafirs, ambassadors are employed to negotiate treaties of peace or alliance, and the persons of these ambassadors—men chosen for their great ability and intelligence—are inviolable. The domestic slavery of Madagascar, one of the effects of their unsettled state, is purely African in its character. The slaves are kindly treated; and the description given of this institution by eye-witnesses reminds us strongly of the domestic slavery as found by Du Chaillu in operation in Western Africa. In Madagascar, the chief of the tribe is almost absolute in power, and he is often treated with the utmost servility. Drury states that the wives and subjects of the chief licked his feet when they came into his presence. This custom has its counterpart in the grovelling respect exacted by the Zulu chiefs from their subjects; and the Kafir chiefs generally are not less despotic than those

of the Madecasse tribes. One prerogative which the head Kafir chief retains in his own hands is the sentencing to death of persons guilty of a crime, and this prerogative is in Madagascar restricted to the sovereign. The mode in which the public affairs of the tribe are managed is much the same among both Madecasses and Kafirs. The chief hears and decides all disputes in person, the parties being their own advocates. Certain influential men, however, are his recognised councillors, and these among the Kafirs are called the "eyes," "ears," etc., of the chief. Almost the very same title is found in use among the Hovas of Madagascar, who call the king's councillors *menamaso*, or "red eyes." Although the chiefs are irresponsible for their actions, some restraint is placed on them by the fear of losing their subjects, it being customary, among both Madecasses and Kafirs, for these to change their tribe if they do not approve of their chief's conduct. The chief, therefore, calls in the aid of the conjurors or sorcery-doctors, who decide by omens on the course to pursue under given circumstances. Drury shrewdly suspected that the Madecasse *omb-iassees* or *um-osses* were in the pay of the chiefs, and there can be little doubt that the same must be said of the sorcerers among the Kafirs.

An important point in which the Madecasses resemble the Kafirs is their religion. From the information given us by Mr. Ellis, there can be no doubt that the *fetichism* which is so extensively spread over the African Continent is equally influential in Madagascar. The special point of religious contact, however, between the Kafirs and the Madecasses is ancestor-worship. Mr. Ellis affirms of the latter that "their own religious creeds teach them to regard the spirits of the earliest ancestors of their ruler as among the chief objects of religious homage, and hence also a sort of sacredness is supposed to belong to the reigning monarch, as descended from their gods." This account refers to the national religion of the people, but it is evident from Drury's narrative that each family has its private gods, who are in reality the spirits of its ancestors. These spirits have offerings presented to them, and they are prayed to for protection and guidance, and are sworn by as though they were gods. Now, exactly the same ideas as to the influence of departed spirits are prevalent among the South African tribes. Casalis says of the Basutos that, while the tribe in its entirety has for its national gods the ancestors of the governing chief, each family is under the influence and safeguard of its own ancestors. Immediately a person dies he is placed among the family gods, and a sacrifice is offered on his tomb. This is equally applicable to the Zulu Kafirs, who have an unbounded "reverence for the spirits of their ancestors," and offer sacrifices to them, and, like the Madecasses, seek their aid in case of sickness. All the Kafir tribes, moreover, have, equally with the inhabitants of Madagascar, a belief in the existence of a great and Supreme Being, whom, however, they do not worship, as they think he does not concern himself with the affairs of this world.

In their other superstitions, the Madecasses and Kafirs have great resemblance. Both have the most implicit faith in witchcraft and in the power of charms; and they both believe that sickness is caused by the influence of the spirits of the dead, to whom sacrifices are

offered to avert it. In connection with this subject may be mentioned the importance ascribed to burial. The performance of the ceremony has a religious significance, seeing that the spirits of the dead are supposed to be capable of affecting, injuriously or otherwise, the living. The propitiation, by offerings at the time of burial, and afterwards by sacrifices, is a natural result of this belief. We need not be surprised to find, moreover, among the Madecasses, with whom not merely burial, but burial with their ancestors, is of so great importance, the West African custom of cutting off the head of a chief who has died at a distance from home that he may have his place among the family gods. Criminals among the Madecasses are not allowed burial; and Drury relates that the bodies of enemies killed in battle were cut to pieces that they might not be buried. So, among the Zulu Kafirs, burial is refused to all those killed by order of the king, although instead of their bodies being cut to pieces, they are merely thrown into the bush, where they are eaten by the vultures and hyenas.

The superstitious dread of the crocodile is a curious feature which the Madecasses and the Kafir tribes of South Africa have in common. According to Mr. Ellis, the former regard these animals "with strange feelings. They fear them, as possessed of supernatural power, invoke their forbearance with prayers, or seek protection by charms, rather than attack them..... Crocodiles' teeth are worn as charms; they are also made of silver or gold, and worn both for security and ornament; a golden crocodile's tooth being the central ornament in the sovereign's crown." This is among the Hovas; but the same superstitious feeling is prevalent among the other tribes. As to the natives of South Africa, Mr. Chapman says that all the Bechuana tribes regard the crocodile with "great dread and much aversion." They will not even look upon those animals if they can help it, for fear of some evil befalling them." A similar feeling is entertained by the Zulus, who have the utmost aversion for the flesh of the crocodile, it being "doubtful whether even the pangs of starvation would induce a Zulu Kafir to partake of such food, or to hold friendly intercourse with any one who had done so." This superstitious dread is even extended to other reptiles. Mr. Ellis says, as to the Madecasses, that "they seem to regard with a sort of superstition, almost amounting to dread, all serpents, crocodiles, or other dangerous reptiles, which they carefully avoid injuring, under an apprehension of experiencing retaliation, either from that identical reptile, or from some other of its species, at a future time." The deference paid by the Vazimbas to the lizard (among other reptiles) is noted by Drury; and superstitious relating to this animal are common to many tribes of South Africa,—among them, the Damaras, who will not eat it for fear of losing their strength. The Kafirs believe that the spirits of the dead revisit them under the form of the lizard. They have the same notion as to the serpent, which animal, therefore, they are fearful of injuring; and probably a similar idea is the cause of the great veneration which, according to Lieutenant Oliver, the Madecasses have for snakes. The superstitious regard for oxen is another point of affinity between

the Kafirs and the Madecasses. That the killing of these animals on the death of a chief has a religious significance is shown, not only by the custom of hanging their horns over the grave, practised by the Madecasses, as well as by various South African peoples, but also from the fact that oxen are the ordinary objects of sacrifice. Among the Zulus, the most sacred place of the tribe, that where the bodies of the chiefs are buried, is the *isi-baya*, or cattle enclosure, in the centre of the kraal. Into this enclosure women are not allowed to enter, nor are they permitted to milk the cattle. According to Casalis, the care of oxen is considered by the Basutos a noble occupation, and worthy of persons of the highest rank. So, as we learn from Drury, that some of the Madecasses would not touch the flesh of one of these animals unless it had been killed by a person of royal blood.

Another curious point in which South African customs agree with those of Madagascar is the establishment of a system of purification, chiefly by water. Mr. Ellis has given a graphic account of the ceremony of bathing by the Queen of the Hovas at the new year's festival, this being followed by the bathing of all the people. Flacourt mentions ablution as one of the rites attendant on the ceremony of circumcision; and probably, if we were more intimately acquainted with the private customs of the Madecasses, we should find this system of purification more fully developed. M. Casalis says that the prayers offered by the Basutos to their ancestors are always accompanied by lustrations; and, among the Zulus, purification by water is undergone by the inhabitants of a kraal after burial. Another mode of purification used among the Basutos is by fire; and traces of this superstition are found among the Madecasses, not only in the burning of portions of sacrificed cattle, but also, as related by Rochon, in the treatment of sick persons.

The Madecasses are extremely superstitious, using the *auli*, or instrument through which the spirits are consulted, on every emergency; and no one can read the descriptions given by Dos Santos of the character of the inhabitants of Sofala, without being struck with their resemblance to the Madecasses in this respect. This writer says that the Kafirs "never begin any the slightest affair, neither sow, plant, nor set out on a journey, without consulting, by casting lots, on the fate of the expedition." They are, moreover, specially addicted to the use of charms. A favourite charm of the Kafir soldier is a piece of a particular kind of wood. When he goes to fight "he takes care to have his enemy-charm ready for use, and, just before he enters the battle, bites off a portion of the wood, masticates it thoroughly, and then blows the fragments towards the foe, confident that he is thus taking away from the courage of the enemy and adding the subtracted amount to his own." This has much analogy with a curious custom of the Madecasses described by Drury, and in which he had on one occasion to take part. Before their army is carried, fixed on the top of a stick, a powerful charm, which, if thrown towards the enemy as soon as the fighting begins, is supposed to cause their defeat.

These peoples agree no less in their domestic habits, many of

which are incident to the pastoral condition. This is a very important characteristic, and it clearly identifies the Madecasses with the pastoral tribes of South Africa; a view which is confirmed by the fact, stated by Mr. Ellis, that the names of the domestic animals of Madagascar are African. Great ingenuity in the working of metals is another point in which the Madecasses resemble the Zulus, and their neighbours the Bechuanas and Basutos, all of whom are first-rate blacksmiths. The bellows used by these various peoples are of exactly the same description, although it must not be forgotten that similar bellows are to be met with throughout the Malay Archipelago and the African Continent generally. It is strange that the blacksmith should so often be looked upon with a certain degree of awe and dread. Among the Basutos the aspirant to a knowledge of the mysteries of the "black art" must pass through a process of initiation, while in Madagascar a particular clan or caste—the Zanakambony—is exempt from doing any work for the sovereign, other than that connected with the forge, as though to mark the importance of the blacksmith's craft. There is one other custom which is interesting as connecting the Madecasses with South African peoples, although it appears to be no longer found among the latter. I refer to cooking by means of hot stones. This custom is mentioned in the Zulu nursery tales collected by Dr. Callaway; and Professor Max Müller has cited it as one of the proofs that the Zulus and the Polynesians, who still follow the same practice, were at one time in close contact. There is no occasion, however, to go so far as this for the comparison, as Drury distinctly describes this mode of cooking as existing among the Madecasses during his stay in the island.

In concluding this part of my subject, I would refer to certain defects of character which seem to link the Madecasses to the peoples of the African Continent. These are the propensity for thieving and lying, as mentioned by Mr. Ellis, and female unchastity, which, according to Captain Wilson, is characteristic of the Sakalaves, though, from Lieutenant Oliver's statement, no less so, apparently, of the other Madecasse tribes.

While affirming that this comparison confirms the conclusion as to the African affinity of the Madecasses derived from their physical characteristics, I do not deny that many of these customs are found also among the dark tribes of the Malayan Archipelago. In fact, it would be a wonder if it were not so, although the agreement of the Madecasses, in this respect, with the Eastern peoples cannot be so close as with the tribes of South Africa. This is required by the pastoral character, which, although so characteristic of the Madecasses, is wholly wanting to the Papuans. Certain points of agreement between these latter peoples may now be shortly referred to, although, owing to our imperfect knowledge of the Papuans, this can be done but very imperfectly. Thus, there is a general agreement in the tribal Government, and in the position occupied by the chief, as an almost absolute ruler and of sacred dignity. The Papuans, like the Madecasses, have sorcery-doctors, whose functions appear to consist chiefly in the communing with spirits and the preparation of charms. There is a

general agreement, moreover, between the religious notions of the dark tribes of the Malayan Archipelago and Polynesia and those of the Madecasses. Among all these peoples a gross *fetichism* exists, arising from the belief in the interference of unseen spirits in the affairs of men, many of these invisible agents being the spirits of the dead. In some cases, the veneration for their ancestors is the only approach to a religious feeling the Papuans, like the Madecasses, possess. Similar ideas, also, are current among these peoples as to the origin of sickness, and the necessity for the propitiation of the spirits who are believed to cause it. The peculiar superstition in relation to the crocodile is not foreign to the Malayan Archipelago, nor even to those parts of Australia where this animal is met with. In Polynesia, where the crocodile does not exist, the superstition appears to have been transferred to the shark, the teeth of this fish being used as charms. Even in regard to the lizard there seems to be something of the same superstitious feeling as that which we find connected with this reptile in Madagascar. Thus, by the Maories a green lizard is "held in the greatest veneration as a living representative of divinity"; while, on the other hand, the Aborigines of Australia have a superstitious dislike to certain species of this animal, and kill every one of them they meet with, reminding us of a similar custom among the Kafirs in relation to the chameleon and the iguana. Other superstitions which the Papuans, or at least the Polynesians, have, in common with the Madecasses, are circumcision and purification by water—peculiarly enough, the bathing of the king on his inauguration and a kind of infant baptism—the belief in unlucky words and numbers, and the *tapu* of certain words.

It is now time to consider whether the mutual affinity of the Malays, Hovas, and Hottentots, as representatives of the light tropical race living in contact with dark peoples also related, can be established. The first point of inquiry is the physiognomy, and so far as colour and general facial contour are concerned, the testimony of travellers appears to be almost conclusive, if we may judge from the common resemblance of these several peoples to the Mongolic type. Mr. Wallace tells us that the Chinese living among the Malays of the Archipelago cannot, when they wear the native dress, be distinguished from the natives themselves. Again, the Hovas are said by Lieutenant Oliver to be in appearance allied to the Malay, "with Mongolic affinities," which can only mean that they approach nearer to the Mongol type than do the Malays themselves. M. Charnay—with whom Mr. Ellis would on the whole probably agree, notwithstanding the Polynesian similarity of feature which he observed among the Hovas—considered these people to be of Malayan origin. The opinion of Sir J. Barrow as to the Mongolic features of the Hottentots is well known. In this most other writers agree, and I think it is Mr. Fleming who says that it is difficult to distinguish, by the test of mere physiognomy, the Malays settled at the Cape of Good Hope from the civilised Hottentots. The latter have a peculiarity which associates them more closely with the Mongols than either the Hovas or Malays. Mr. Wallace says that the last-named people never present the obliquity of the eye which is so distinguish-

ing a mark of the Mongol, and the same is true, if I mistake not, of the Hovas. This peculiarity is, however, often met with among the Hottentots and the allied Bosjesmans, and, curiously enough, the same physical character is sometimes found among the South Sea Islanders. The light peoples we are comparing appear to present less agreement in the hair than in other physical characteristics. The hair of the Malay is straight, like that of the Mongol, and this is the usual character of the Hova hair, although the latter is occasionally frizzled, and approaches, therefore, the African type. The hair of the Hottentot is of this type, and it is remarkable, moreover, for a peculiarity which it possesses in common with some members of the Kafir race, and with another dark race, that of the Papuans of the Malay Archipelago. The "tufted" arrangement of the hair referred to would appear also to have been found among the Tasmanians, and if the hair could be depended on as a racial character, this fact would be valuable evidence in support of a fundamental connection between these peoples. I question much, however, whether it can be employed otherwise than as a confirmatory test. How far the evidence furnished by a comparison of crania agrees with that derived from other physical data may be doubted. I have already mentioned that the Madecasse skull is dolichocephalic, although not so much so as that of the South African, while the Malay skull is brachycephalic. The general conclusion, therefore, as to the cranial affinity of the Madecasses, is that they more nearly approach the African type than that of the Malays. This applies to the Madecasses as a whole, but a comparison of a Hova skull in the Museum of the Anthropological Society of London with certain South African skulls, furnishes a particular confirmation of this general conclusion. For the data of this comparison I am indebted to my friend Dr. C. Carter Blake, who says:

"The Hova skull presented by Dr. Sampson Roch is that of a young individual, the *dens sapientie* being just cut. It is a skull of great length, the proportions being

Greatest length (glabella-inial)	...	...	175	millimètres.
Greatest breadth	...	...	127	"
Cephalic index	...	...	725	"
Facial angle	...	...	82°	"

The appearance of the frontal bone and the general form of the skull exhibit the condition termed by Welcker *scaphocephalus*. Great frontal prominence exists, especially at the points immediately above the orbits. The contour of the skull is thus altered in such a manner as to demonstrate that the chief cause of the projecting and high forehead is due to the abnormal condition termed *scaphocephalus*. The coronal suture is remarkably open, as, indeed, is the sagittal, though to a less extent. The glabella is remarkably flat, and the nasal bones are much broader than in the Malay skulls with which I have compared the Hova. The orbits are more rounded, and their external inferior portions are more depressed in the Hova than in the Malay. In fact, the type of skull is as different as possible. Barnard Davis (*Thesaurus Craniorum*, p. 218) gives 78 as the cephalic index of a Betsimasara skull, of which he also says that "it appears to be less dolichoce-

phalic than the races of the Continent of Africa, and such seems to be the general character of the skulls of the peoples of Madagascar." The most complete investigation of the skulls of the eastern coast of Africa is that which I believe Professor Busk has made from the very large collection of eastern "subtropical negro" skulls from the coast of Zanzibar, brought over by Captains Burton and Speke. As Professor Busk's excellent researches are yet unpublished, I merely allude to them. But, without going into details, I would call the attention of anthropologists to the great resemblance which exists between the Hova skull before us, and many of the Eastern African skulls in the College of Surgeons. They agree in every possible character. The fact is there exists a considerable amount of variation in the "negro" skull; and the characters, which are truly predicable of the West Coast African negro, are far from being equally true of the negro of Mozambique. To judge from the skull alone, the Hova seems far more nearly allied to the negro of the mainland than to the Malay, or any other Eastern race."

In this general conclusion I quite agree, although (probably in opposition to Dr. Blake's opinion) I do not believe, judging from mere observation, that there is any very great difference between the form of the Hova skull and that often presented by the Hottentot—certainly not so much as between the crania of the Kafir and of the West African negro.

In comparing the mental characteristics and customs of the Hovas with those of other light peoples of the tropics, we can hardly, owing to the length of time during which the former must have been separated from the Hottentots, expect to find much agreement. There are certain points, however, such as the pastoral character, and the practice of circumcision which the latter have, or at least had, in common with the Hovas; but these are also found among the Kafirs. As to circumcision, this rite appears to have been given up by the Hottentots soon after they came in contact with the Dutch. This, doubtless, was owing to a peculiar facility they have in adapting themselves to European customs, in which they well agree with the Hovas. This is particularly noticeable as to dress; the Hottentots, Mr. Fleming tells us, unlike the Kafir, readily assuming the European costume. It is, indeed, in general character, rather than in special customs, that the Hovas and Hottentots agree. Thus, M. Charnay says that years of oppression have caused the Hova to become sullen, suspicious, cunning, cruel, and treacherous, and now, during the thirty years which have elapsed since they became masters of a great part of Madagascar, "they have decimated the unfortunate natives, and exercised without pity the rights of conquest," on the slightest appearance of rebellion treating them with great cruelty. This characteristic is shown also in the treatment of criminals. M. Charnay admits that the Hovas are "subtle politicians, great diplomatists, and very clever," although apparently not so "intellectual" as the other Madecasses. "If a Hova," adds this French traveller, "makes a present, he expects it to be returned with interest; if he offers you his hand, it is that you may put something in it; he adores money, and it is the only supreme

good he recognises. He is deceitful, proud, cowardly, insolent, and dull." There appears to me to be much in this description of the Hovas which would suit the Hottentots and Bosjesmans. These likewise were in contact with a dark race who undoubtedly are allied to the Sakalaves of Madagascar, and the Bosjesmans especially have become a "sullen, suspicious, cunning, and cruel" people. This may possibly have been the result of oppression, and it is quite consistent with most determined courage in resisting the assaults of their enemies, as was always undoubtedly the case with the Hovas. The Hottentots also are not despicable warriors, as may be seen by their conduct as against the Kafirs in the war of 1847. The most striking analogy between the Hovas and the light tribes of South Africa, however, is presented by the case of the Namaquas. This people, under the leadership of Africaner, successfully opposed the Dutch boers and overran great part of South-West Africa. They have subdued the Damaras, who experience from them much the same treatment as the other Madecasse tribes meet with at the hands of the Hovas. Mr. Baines says that "a Hottentot thinks as little of a lie as he does of a Damara's life." In fact, the Damaras are either killed in cold blood, often with circumstances of great cruelty, or else reduced to slavery, while the Namaquas subsist on the plunder gained in their predatory expeditions. At the same time, the latter would appear to have established a semblance of state government, and, like the Hovas, to have taken to the dress and various customs of Europeans. There cannot be much doubt that the Hottentots, as a whole, bear the same *relation* to the Kafirs as the Hovas bear to the dark tribes of Madagascar, and that the Hottentots and Hovas have an affinity is not so improbable as might at first sight appear, when we consider the supposed connection of the latter with the Vazimba. It is well known that the Hottentots at one time spread much further north in Eastern Africa than they do at present, and that many of the local names of that part of the country now occupied by the Kafirs have originated in the language of the former people. Whether or not these names reach so far north as Mozambique I do not know, but many words are there found which are related to the name of the Vazimba of Madagascar.

I have not been able to point out any very special points of agreement between the Hovas and the Hottentots, but this is sufficiently accounted for by the length of time during which these peoples must have been separated. It is, indeed, undoubtedly among the more civilised people of the Malayan Archipelago that we must seek for special Hova affinities, and we may find the proofs of this in a quarter hitherto, I believe, little suspected. No one can read Sir J. Bowring's valuable work on Siam, without being struck by the similarity of many of the customs mentioned by him with those of the civilised inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago. With a double object, therefore, I propose to compare the Hovas with the Siamese, instead of with the Malays themselves, and we shall find many phenomena which point to an affinity between these peoples. The absolute power and sacred character of the sovereign, with the great reverence for authority, which distinguish both these peoples, may, perhaps, be considered as essentially eastern.

It is strange, nevertheless, that as when the Hova sovereign is abroad all his subjects have to turn out of the path-way, so the Siamese "must prostrate himself with his face flat to the ground, turning his back to the company till they are out of sight." There is a curious similarity between the oaths of allegiance in Madagascar and Siam which can hardly be so explained. According to M. Condé, in the latter country, when the mandarins are assembled in the proper temple for that purpose, the priests "take pure water over which they make prayers and perform sacrilegious ceremonies, afterwards plunging into it the sabre and arms of the king. This done, the mandarins call upon the idol and other gods to witness, while they drink a little of the water, which, through the prayers of the talapoins, has the power of destroying all who become traitors to the sovereign." The usual oath taken by the pagan Sumatrans, as described by Mr. Marsden, much resembles this. The ceremony consisted in placing "an old rusty kris, a broken gun barrel, or any ancient trumpery, to which chance or caprice has annexed the idea of extreme virtue," in water, which the person who swears drinks off, after having pronounced a certain form of words. This, as Mr. Marsden points out, is also a Madecasse ceremony, and the oath of allegiance is evidently only a modification of it. According to Mr. Ellis, this oath, when taken by the members of the Royal family, consists in piercing a calf with a spear, and in striking, apparently with this weapon, water, a portion of which is then drunk by the person taking the oath. The superstitious use of water in other cases is common to these peoples. The belief in lucky and unlucky days is also common to them, and the agreement extends to the dislike of *even* numbers, against which both of them have an absurd prejudice. The religion of the Siamese, apart from their reception of Buddhism, is of much the same character as that of the Madecasses. It consists in the propitiation of spirits, who are supposed to people the waters, the forests, the air, and answering to the elemental spirits, in the existence of which, according to Flacourt, the Madecasses believe. The Hovas celebrate the beginning of a new year with a great festival, which lasts three days, and it is strange that exactly the same custom is prevalent among the Siamese. The superstitions as to certain animals are much the same among both these peoples. Sir John Bowring says that he saw several proclamations in Siam, against the killing of oxen and buffaloes, while crocodile-charming and serpent-charming are regular occupations, betokening the existence of superstitions connected with these reptiles. The modes of punishment employed by these people may also be cited. Spearing is the usual mode of inflicting death, but among the Siamese it is not lawful to shed the blood of a nobleman—nobles are killed by beating; and so among the Madecasses royal personages are strangled when put to death, it being forbidden to shed their blood. Probably, also, it is for this reason that persons of rank are suffocated under similar circumstances. There are several burial customs in which the Siamese and Madecasses undoubtedly agree, the most curious of these being the mode of preparing the body for burial, the putting of a piece of money into the mouth of the deceased, and the placing of lighted candles

near the coffin. The Siamese, moreover, shave the head as a sign of mourning, this custom being universal among the Madecasses on the death of a sovereign. There are certain Malay customs which I have not referred to, because they are not peculiar, among African peoples, to the Madecasses, or among them to the Hovas. The Abyssinians especially show many points of agreement with the Madecasses, and also with the South African tribes, and even with Eastern peoples, but time will not allow me to dwell on them.

I have reserved the consideration of the question of language affinity until the last, because it is impossible to distinguish in this respect, as, indeed, in most others, between the light and the dark tribes of Madagascar, so as to make any separate comparison of their dialects with those of the analogous peoples in other parts of the world. The universal testimony of those who have come in contact with them is that all the Madecasse tribes speak dialects of one and the same language. Mr. Griffiths says that the Ankova dialect "has many words that have the same orthography with the other dialects, but different signification, yet they bear a close analogy, and other words that have the same signification, have certain letters either exchanged, or added." The diversity of meanings for various words met with in these dialects furnishes a strong proof of their fundamental connection, and yet of their separate development; and the source of it is easily discoverable. Mr. Griffiths affirms that many words and expressions in Malagasy have two significations, the literal and the figurative, and, on comparing the examples he gives, it is evident that one of these meanings has occasionally been lost, one dialect retaining the literal and another the figurative meaning. An analogous process may have taken place to cause the use of different words for the same object; this having arisen from the perpetuation by the several tribes of one or more only of the many words, to denote a particular object, which the original stock possessed. There is no difficulty in understanding how this could be, when, even now, Malagasy, according to Mr. Ellis, has "twenty different words for expressing the manner of growth of the horns of an ox, and thirty words to signify the several modes in which the natives plait their hair." It is according to this principle that we can explain a similar phenomenon which presents itself on a comparison of Malagasy with the dialects of the Malay Archipelago and of Polynesia, there being certain words in Malagasy which are also common to several Polynesian dialects, but which are not possessed by the Malay.

It is impossible, within the limits of this paper, to treat fully of the affinities of Malagasy, and this is the less necessary, as its connection with the Malay-Polynesian dialects is admitted on every hand. I will, for the present, therefore, dismiss these dialects, after saying that the affinity of the Malagasy with the Malay would seem to be almost purely verbal. Mr. Griffiths, indeed, says that "Malagasy bears some analogy to the Malay and the Arabic in the sound and signification of many of the words, and in the inflections of certain verbs." To this, I would add that some of the Malay verbal prefixes are clearly the same as those of Malagasy, and that a connection may be traced between the

pronouns of these languages. I do not doubt that all these languages—including those of South Africa—are fundamentally connected; and when, therefore, Mr. Griffiths says that Malagasy has no affinity with the latter, I entirely dissent from him. Even Mr. Ellis admits that “there appears to be a resemblance, amounting to identity, between a number of words used by the Malagasy, and the natives of the Mozambique coast, and the interior,” although he denies that, “excepting in the great regard paid to euphony,” there is any verbal or grammatical resemblance between “the Malagasy and the languages spoken on the eastern coast of Africa, to the southward of Dalgua Bay.” This latter conclusion is, however, directly contrary to what we should expect, judging from the admitted connection between the Kafir tribes and the natives of Mozambique, and from the agreement of all these peoples with the Madecasses in other respects, and it is, in fact, incorrect. I have made both a verbal and a grammatical comparison of these languages, and I am able to say that not only have the Kafir dialects many verbal agreements with Malagasy, but that, notwithstanding a very marked general dissimilarity of structure, they have certain grammatical features in common, which show their fundamental connection. Among many other words which appear to be the same in the Kafir dialects and the Malagasy (the latter taken from Dumont D’Urville’s Vocabulary), the following may be cited; it being remembered that the first syllable of the Malagasy verb is simply a prefix.

	MALAGASY.	KAFIR.
To annoy	matakatz	uku kataza
To arrest	sambour	uku bamba
To beat	miadi	uku beta
To cry	mizala	uka lila
To go	nomb	uku hamba
To increase	manontoh	uku anda
To report	mizakh	uku sika
To touch	manapatsapa	uku pata
To trade	mivanga	tenga
Woman	ompisaf	umfazi
Infant	zana zanak	usana
Seed	voua	imbeu
Much	foutak	udakee
Death	fat	uku fa

Mere verbal agreement, however, is not now considered sufficient; and it is necessary to be prepared with similarity of grammatical structure before actual affinity will be admitted. It appears to me, nevertheless, that too much stress may be laid on the latter point. The real test is not in a mere *structural* agreement, but in the similarity of the means by which the several grammatical forms are distinguished. Probably the laws of the evolution of all languages are the same; but when these languages are widely separated the distinctive signs which give their value to the grammatical structure may be quite unlike.

The peculiarity of the Kafir dialects consists, as is well known, in the elaborate development of a system of prefixes, and it was at one time thought that this peculiarity separated them from all other

languages. Doehne, however, has shown that these prefixes are, in reality, primitive words, "pronouns, in the present state of the language, used as *nominal forms*, compounded with other words." As a *pronominal* language, therefore, the Kafir dialects are—Doehne adds—"of common descent with those of the remotest Northern tribes, from the Suaheli down the coast to immediately south of the Equator, which have the bulk of their several languages in common." If this is so, the peculiar system, forming what is called the *euphonic concord*, must have been developed after the separation of the Kafir dialects from others primitively connected with them. It is evident, therefore, how small a resemblance in grammatical structure there must be between these dialects and a language, such as the Malagasy, which has taken a totally different course of development. Nevertheless, there are, I think, various points in which a grammatical affinity between these languages can be established. Such is the regard for euphony, referred to by Mr. Ellis, and which it is not at all unlikely may have been the originating cause of the peculiar formation presented by the Kafir dialect. This regard for euphony shows itself in Malagasy in the mutation of certain consonants when they follow others, and it is curious that three at least of these changes are found also in the Zulu dialect. Thus, while under these circumstances, in the former, *z* is changed into *j*, *s* into *ts*, and *h* into *k*; in the latter, *nz* becomes *nj*, *s* becomes *ts*, and *hl*, *kl*. Probably, the regard for euphony also led to the terminating of every Kafir word with a vowel, a rule, the operation of which in Malagasy, gives, according to Mr. Ellis, "a peculiar softness and harmony to the tones of the native speech." Another point of agreement between these languages is found in the absence of any inflections for the distinction of male and female, and the use of distinct words to denote objects of different genders. There is a similarity also in the means employed to effect a certain change in the force of nouns, although the result is different. Thus, in Malagasy, the repletive *ra* is prefixed to the names of persons to denote respect and superiority, while in Zulu the affixing of the same particle to nouns of comparison indicates a *diminution* of quality. Again, while in Malagasy the reduplication of a noun or adjective gives it a *diminutive* signification, this effect is obtained in Kafir, in both adjectives and nouns, by affixing *ana* to the root. This particle is, however, used in the formation of *intensive* adjectives in Malagasy, where it appears to be found in the word *anak*, small, seen in *zana zanak* an infant. Another curious point in which these languages agree is in the use of the particle *ka*, which in Kafir is "occasionally prefixed to adverbs with an intensive or conjunctive force," and *nga*, which is "often prefixed to prepositions and adverbs with an intensive or expletive force." *Nganga* is a reduplicated form of *nga*, used in the first comparative form of nouns; *ngenga* being used in the formation of the second comparative form. Now, in Malagasy there is not only an *intensive repletive*, *akory*, but also an *optative repletive*, *enga-ka*, both of which are used to enhance the signification of words to which these are joined, and the latter of which seems to agree with the Kafir indefinite adjective *ngaka*.

The Kafir system of pronouns is most perfect, and the Malagasy, as is evident from the grammatical structure of the language, cannot furnish anything to compare with this elaborate system. The third person of the Kafir personal pronoun, which takes sixty-two different forms, is, as appears to be the case in nearly all primitive languages, derived from the demonstrative pronouns which have nine principal and eight compound forms. In Malagasy there is nothing to approach this, but a comparison of some of its demonstrative pronouns with those of the Zulu reveals a connection between them. Thus, the fourth species of Kafir demonstrative pronouns, has *esi*, this, and *ezi*, these; while in Malagasy we have *ity* and *izato*, this, and *izatoana* (the latter syllable being the intensive particle), these, and also *izao*, this or these. Moreover, the third personal pronoun is in Malagasy *izy* for the nominative, and *azy* for the objective, of both the singular and the plural. Again, the relative pronouns in Zulu are derived from the demonstrative pronouns which express *this* and *these*, which we have seen to be, in the fourth species, *esi* and *ezi*, and the relative pronoun is "often used as a simple demonstrative pronoun expressing that or those." In Malagasy, *izany* is both the relative pronoun *that* or *which*, and also a demonstrative pronoun denoting either this or that, these or those.

The great difference between the modes of conjugating the verb in the Kafir dialects and in the Malagasy, renders it almost impossible that they can have any special grammatical features in common. The use of pronominal affixes in the adjunctive form of the Malagasy passive verb, which with a passive form has an active signification, would, however, seem to make an approach to the Zulu pronominal conjugation of verbs. In both these languages, too, the verb appears to be equally capable of multiplying its forms. Thus, the Malagasy has five simple derivative forms, by combination of which nineteen different inflections may be made. The Zulu Kafir verb has five simple derivative forms, besides its primitive form, by the combination and inflection of which numerous other forms may be obtained. It is possible that a point of agreement may be found in the formation of some of the tenses, and that the Malagasy *efa*, done, completed, which is used to form the compound tenses of its verbs, may be allied to the Zulu auxiliary *ba*, to be, which is used for a like purpose. Moreover, in both Malagasy and Zulu the participles have tenses like those of the indicative mood of the verb.

The root of the verb in Malagasy appears to be found in the infinitive mood, while in the Kafir dialects the infinitive differs from the root only in the use of the prefix *uku*. This particle is, according to Dohme's system, a primitive noun, expressing, however, a mere state of action without circumstance of any kind. Now, although we do not find the same particle in Malagasy, yet among the prefixes employed to give the *transitive* form to verbs is *mang* or *mank*, which would appear to have the same operation as the Kafir *uku*. A similar change in form to that exhibited by these particles is seen in the demonstratives *oko* and *oku*, that and this, in Kafir, which in Malagasy are represented by *engh*. There would appear to be a connection of

the same kind between a Malagasy and a Kafir nominal affix. Among the words I have compared are *ompisaf* (Malagasy) and *umfazi* (Kafir) woman. Of these words, the last part is the root, "fazi," meaning in Zulu, *feminine*. This prefix *ompi* or, as, probably, it was originally, *omp*, is found in other Malagasy nouns, such as *ompivang*, a trader, *ompitrouss*, a debtor, and apparently implies a human agent. Now, the prefix of the sixth species of Kafir nouns *um* has the distinction that it, alone of all the prefixes, "follows different analogies as it belongs to nouns representing persons or things." These prefixes must have had a starting point for their development, and I think it is not at all unlikely that we have in the particles *um* and *omp* different forms of the same primitive prefix. It is curious that, as the prefix *uku* would seem to be connected through the verbal infinitive, with the prefix, *mang*, of the Malagasy *transitive* verb, so *um* may be connected through the prefix *ompi* or *omp*, with the prefix of the Malagasy *causative* verb, which is *omp*. In concluding this comparison, I would point out one or two important proofs of the fundamental connection between the Malagasy and Kafir languages. Among the simple roots to which Doehne reduces all the Zulu words are *fa*, to blast, to die, and *va*, to come; and I find that in Malagasy *fat* means death, and *ave*, to come. Again, the Kafir particle *ze* is added to words to express the idea of "nakedness," while, in Malagasy, the word *sissik* means "naked." I shall have occasion to refer again to the Kafir *imali*, money, the origin of which word is still unsettled; but there are two other words deserving of mention here. The well known native dress of the Madecasses is the *lamba*, and I was surprised to find from Doehne's Vocabulary, that the ordinary garment worn during the day by the Zulus is called *hamba*, meaning, probably in both cases, simply the "walking" dress. Drury, in his "Adventures," gives *Unghorray* as the Madecasse name for God. Now, in East Africa, the name for the Supreme Being is *Mulunga*; at Tete, *Morungo*; among the Kafirs, *Uhlunga* or *Unkulunkulu*; while among the Damaras, it is *Omakuru*, all these names being closely related to the Malagasy word.

It is time now to make some comparison between the Malagasy and the Hottentot dialects, of which I will take the Namaqua for the purpose. Strange as it may seem, there is, so far as I can judge, as great a verbal affinity between the Hottentot and the Malagasy as between the latter and the Kafir dialects. The following words may be cited to show the character of this affinity, and many other words might be added. In the Namaqua, the letters *c*, *q*, *v*, *x*, represent the *clicks*, and in the Malagasy, the italicised syllable is the prefix.

	MALAGASY.	NAMAQUA.
<i>To bark</i>	<i>mihouha</i>	<i>ghu</i>
<i>To be</i>	<i>aho</i>	<i>hâ</i>
<i>To beget</i>	<i>maha</i>	<i>ho</i>
<i>To carry</i>	<i>miton</i>	<i>tani</i>
<i>To continue</i>	<i>hahei</i>	<i>hâ-hâ</i>
<i>To feel</i>	<i>mazapazapa</i>	<i>zâ-zâ</i> (to touch)
<i>To grasp</i>	<i>sambour</i>	<i>zubu</i>

	MALAGASY.	NAMAQUA.
Clean	mainou	ganu
Cool	nara	kara
Eye	mass	nus
Fan	raraf	zarip
Foot	pe	veis

So far as grammatical structure is concerned, it may be thought that the click language can have no affinity with the Malagasy. Features in common of this character are, however, not altogether wanting, although from the comparative simplicity of the *Namaqua* they cannot be numerous. Thus, although the latter differs from the Malagasy in the possession of signs of gender, yet we find that in both languages, when the masculine or feminine gender is required to be particularly shown, words denoting male or female are added to the noun, in the one case as an affix, in the other as a prefix. Both languages, moreover, possess a common gender which includes all nouns not specifically separated from the class to which they belong. These become defined in Namaqua by the addition of the sign of gender, and in Malagasy by adding the masculine or feminine adjective. Mr. Tindall says that "the only law which the Namaqua appears to follow in the imposition of gender upon things inanimate is that of euphony, and in some cases, that which is imposed by a certain distant resemblance or analogy to the natural distinctions of the two sexes." In the treatment of Malagasy nouns, which are said to belong to the *neuter* gender, the latter plan is adopted. These nouns become masculine or feminine when used figuratively, and the rule which governs the ascription of genders is that "when the noun denotes firmness, strength, or power, it is often expressed in the masculine gender, but when it denotes softness or productiveness it is expressed in the feminine gender." Malagasy and Namaqua nouns agree, moreover, in the possession of a dual number, whilst they differ in the use by the latter alone of case terminations. It is possible, however, that the Malagasy particle *ra*, which is used to give distinction to the names of persons, may be connected with the particle *ra* which in Namaqua is the sign of the dual of feminine and common nouns. Such a double use as this is seen in the Zulu word *kazi*, which is employed, not only as the feminine sign of gender, but also to indicate an increase of quality, as *ra* is used in the same language to denote a diminution of quality. The adjectives of Malagasy and Namaqua are equally wanting in the power of inflection. The pronouns, which are the most important words in relation to the grammatical structure of a language, offer certain analogies, although their development in Namaqua is far superior to what is found in Malagasy. Thus, in both languages the plural nominative and objective cases of the first personal pronoun possess the exclusive and inclusive forms. There would seem, moreover, to be a similarity in the roots of some of these pronouns. It is not difficult to connect the Malagasy *izy*, he, she, it, with the Namaqua *xêi*, the personal pronoun of the third person. In both, moreover, the objective case is distinguished by the use of the letter *a*, and the nominative plural

in Malagasy *izareo* is evidently related to the feminine dual of the Namaqua pronoun which is *neira*. A similar form is used also in the plural of the Malagasy second personal pronoun to that of the feminine dual of the same pronoun in Namaqua. Thus in the former it is *hinareo*, you, and in the latter *saro*. This initial *s*, like the Malagasy *iz*, does not here belong to the root. The various forms of the second personal pronoun in Namaqua differ from the dual and plural forms of the first personal pronoun only in their terminal syllables, and a similar phenomenon presents itself in Malagasy, where it is evident that *hianao*, thou, *anao*, thee, are connected with the exclusive *anay*, us. The inclusive form of the Malagasy personal pronoun "we" is *isikia* in the nominative and *antsikia* in the objective. Now, the Namaqua first personal pronoun in its nominative form taken inclusively has *sakum* and used exclusively *sikum*, these being undoubtedly formed from the same root as the Malagasy pronoun. In fact, Dumont d'Urville gives in his Malagasy vocabulary two words for "we"—*nesika* and *sissen*—which almost perfectly agree with words having the same meaning, *sike* and *sisi*, given in Tindall's Namaqua vocabulary. In its system of verbs there is little in the Namaqua to attach it to the Malagasy, except in the great number of forms the verb is capable of taking. Thus, besides the primitive, it possesses eight simple derivative forms, several of which may again be combined. The similarity of subsidiary parts of speech is not so important, but I would mention that the Malagasy conjunctions, *sy* and *raka*, if, with *ka*, and then, appear to be reproduced in the Namaqua *zi* and *ka*, if. When we remember the interchange which sometimes takes place between the letters *l* and *m*, we may find the Malagasy interjection *lozala*, in the Namaqua, *muzo*, and the first word of the exclamation *akory izao*, has great resemblance to the Namaqua *okha*! These Malagasy particles I have taken from Mr. Griffiths' Grammar, but others given by Dumont D'Urville also agree with the Namaqua. Such are the Malagasy *mou*, which, *si*, if, *i*, on, *ehe*, no, and *tsia*, never; Namaqua, *ma*, *isi* (whether), *ci*, *hê-e*, and *tuzi*. Before ending this comparison, I would refer to certain words, the construction of which I have already mentioned as connecting the Malagasy with the Kafir dialects, and which may be used also in support of the affinity sought to be established between the Malagasy and the Hottentot dialects. These are the words having the prefix *ompi*, one of them being *ompitrouss*, a debtor. Now, in the Namaqua we find the word *Suruti-avp*, a debtor, which I have no doubt is the same as the Malagasy word. The prefix *ompi* and the affix *avp* (the latter being used in Namaqua for *men*) appear to have exactly the same sense, that of an active agent, and I have little doubt that they are derived from the same source, and if, as I imagine, the Kafir *um* is connected with these particles, we have in this an important point of affinity between all these languages.

But the grammatical affinity between the Malagasy and the Hottentot dialects is not so great as a comparison of vocabularies would lead us to expect. In fact they are not so precise as those which exist between the Malagasy and the Kafir dialects which possess fewer apparent verbal agreements. Probably this is to be accounted for by

the very early date at which the Hottentot family separated from the common stock, combined with the tendency which, owing to their grammatical simplicity, languages of this family have to preserve the roots of words unaltered. The Hottentot became a detached race most likely before either the Malagasy or the Kafir grammatical peculiarities were developed, and we may, therefore, perhaps see in the dialects spoken by that race a nearer approach to the form of the primitive speech of the stock, than either of the other languages exhibits. It is very probable, moreover, from the peculiar position occupied by the Hottentot in South Africa, that his language will be found to have a connection with the Kafir dialects, which would in itself furnish presumptive evidence of a still earlier contact with the Malagasy. Nor is the verbal affinity, at least, between the Hottentot and the Kafir dialects difficult to show. For instance, Doehne declares that the primitive roots of all Zulu words must have been verbs, and in the Hottentot dialects many primitive verb roots are still retained, several of which are evidently the same as Doehne's primitives. Such are Hottentot *be*, to go away, Zulu *ba*, to step forth; Hottentot *da*, to tread, Zulu *da*, to advance; Hottentot *va*, to slaughter, Zulu *fa*, to die; Hottentot *dau*, to flow, Zulu *ta*, to pour; Hottentot *ha*, to come, Zulu *hla*, to happen; Hottentot *na*, to bite, Zulu *na*, to meet; Hottentot *za*, to feel, Zulu *za*, to feel. The Kafir auxiliary verb *ma*, to stand, is also to be found in Namaqua with the same signification. Other words which these languages have in common could be named, although they do not now appear to be numerous. The most important to this paper are those which show a general connection between the Malagasy, the Kafir, and the Hottentot languages. Such is the word for "money." This in Namaqua is *mari*, which Dr. Bleek derives from the English word, although Doehne derives it from the Hottentot *ma*, to give, and *ri*, the first personal pronoun, literally "give me," and finally "that which is given to me." This may be the true origin of the Hottentot term, but Doehne traces the analogous Zulu term, *imali*, to the Arabic, and there does not appear to be any reason why these words, which differ only in the change of *r* into *l* as required by the Zulu pronunciation, should be assigned different origins. In fact, we have the very same word in the Malagasy *arien*, money, the original form having, probably, wanted the letter which appears as the affix *n* in Malagasy and the prefix *m* in the Zulu and Hottentot dialects. Another Namaqua word, which appears to have a somewhat similar relation, is the verb *koba*, to speak, which contains the same elements as the Malagasy *kabar*, the name for the Madecasse public and other meetings for discussion. It is curious that the Arabs, according to Mr. Palgrave, use the word *khotbah* in relation to a public discourse; and this may, perhaps, enable us to identify the name given by the Basutos to their place of public assembly, which is called the *khotta*, with the Namaqua *koba*, to speak. Other words might be added; but I will refer only to the Kafir primitive *za*, to feel, which we have seen to be found also in the Namaqua, and which the Malagasy has preserved in the verb *mazapazapa*, to feel.

The comparison here made of the Malagasy with the South African languages is very slight; but it is sufficient to show the existence of a connection between them, which extends to the dialect of the Hovas no less than to those of the other tribes of Madagascar. The greater grammatical affinity of Malagasy and Kafir dialects seems, however, to point to a more recent connection between these peoples than that furnished by the verbal agreement of the Namaqua. The grammatical affinities of the latter, however, derive importance from the connection between the Hottentot and the Kafir dialects. Probably, these languages were detached at different periods, the Hottentot appearing to stand to Malagasy in the relation of the Polynesian rather than of the Kafir dialects.

The almost universal relationship of the Madecasses, shewn from the preceding data, makes the question of their origin one of the most complicated that the anthropologist has to deal with. It might well be thought that the inhabitants of Madagascar were derived from the neighbouring continent. There are, however, several objections to this view. One, which has considerable weight, is, that the South African peoples, like the ancient Egyptians, have a great dislike to the sea; they having, moreover, no knowledge whatever of navigation. A more important objection, however, arises from the distribution of peoples on the African continent itself, especially when taken in connection with their relation to other peoples on the eastern margin of the Indian Ocean. The Hottentots (including the allied Bosjesmans) belong, it can hardly be doubted, to the great East African Ethiopic stock; bearing the same relation to some of the Kafir or Bechuana tribes as do the Hovas to the darker tribes of Madagascar. The Kafirs, and other members of the Ethiopic stock, show, moreover, in many of their physical characters, an affinity with the negro peoples, among whom we find, on the whole, the lowest type of man on the African continent. This type is, however, located in the extreme west, and yet, if we look for the lowest type of man absolutely, we find it in the Papuan aborigines of the Australian continent at the other side of the Indian Ocean, the Ethiopic peoples and those of Madagascar lying between the two. The Negro affinities of the Kafirs show that they cannot be an intruding people who have intervened between two branches of the primitive stock; and, therefore, according to any hypothesis of the unity of man's origin, the peopling of Madagascar from the adjoining continent would require a double migration of peoples over that area—one of the primitive stock from east to west, the Negro being its final deposit; and a reflex movement from west to east, reaching the Island of Madagascar, which we must suppose to have been passed over in the original movement.

There would not be this difficulty in peopling Madagascar from Australia or the Malay Archipelago, seeing that the most primitive peoples live on the margin of the Indian Ocean. There are, however, objections to this hypothesis equally strong. In the first place, most of these peoples, including the Malays themselves, have as great a dislike to the sea as have the South African peoples, and they are all,

apparently, nearly as ignorant of navigation. This assertion may be thought to be incorrect in relation to the Malays, as they are usually supposed to be a peculiarly maritime people. Sir Stamford Raffles, however, long since pointed out that this idea is erroneous, the so-called Malay sailors of the Archipelago being exclusively Javanese. The Javanese even cannot, with any certainty, be quoted as furnishing exception to the general rule, as they were so long under Hindu influence, and have been so much in contact with the Arabs, that their maritime taste may have been acquired. The same may be said of the enterprising Bugis of the Celebes. The notion of unintentional migration by means of an ocean current appears to me too wild a notion to be seriously entertained, even if there is such a westerly current as would be necessary for the supposed drifting of the progenitors of the Hovas from the Malay Archipelago. Moreover, their affinity with the other Madecasses would seem to furnish an insuperable objection to such an origin for the Hovas, unless a similar one be ascribed to the dark tribes also. Mr. Logan, who has had rare opportunities of judging of this question, points out another objection, which I have already had occasion to mention, although, perhaps, this would be removed if a continental origin for the Malay race could be established. He says that "the ideologic and glossarial analogies" between the Malagasy dialects and those of the Malay Archipelago, "are not confined to Java and Sumatra. The former are much more strong to the Formosan, Philippine, and Celebesian languages, and, to present all the Asianesian traits of both kinds, we have to go to Polynesia. The colony, therefore, must have traversed a large part of Asianesia to construct a language for Madagascar, and must, after all, have laid aside the great mass of its own vocables, and invented new ones." Mr. Logan, indeed, declares that the Hovas "are entirely African in their manners, customs, religion, government, arts, etc.;" and that their very name even is found in South-Western Africa, in "Ovampo" and other words, as the Vazimba, supposed to be extinct, may be identified with the tribes of the Zambesi basin, one of whom is still called Mazimba.

Judging from the preceding data, the Madecasses are, in my opinion, more truly autochthonous than any other existing race, except, perhaps, the aborigines of Australia. This notion is perfectly consistent with all the facts that have been observed, even as to the Malay affinities of the Hovas. The physical characters of the Madecasses strongly confirm this view; since, without presenting the extreme peculiarities seen among African and Asianesian peoples, they yet possess certain features in common with them all. At the same time, I much doubt, judging from the descriptions of various travellers, whether the physical differences among the Madecasses themselves are, as a rule (whatever may be the case as to individuals), nearly so great as is generally supposed. At least, there is apparently no abrupt division between the light tribes on the one hand and the dark tribes on the other. But, further, we appear to have, in the physical characters of this people, a key to the solution of the difficult problem of the origination of a fair race from a dark one, which

is furnished by the hypothesis of the unity of man's origin. Among the Madecasses, if we may believe the reports of various travellers, every gradation of feature between that of the European and that of the Negroid type may be traced.

According to this view, then, Madagascar would be a very early and important centre of human origin, the only plausible objection being the ignorance of the Madecasses in all matters relating to navigation. In this respect they agree perfectly with the inhabitants of Eastern Africa, with the exception, however, of the Sakalaves, who, even in Drury's time, had large canoes, in which they appear to have made piratical expeditions to the Comoros Islands, although there is reason for doubting whether these canoes were due to their own invention. The difficulty arising from the absence of means of transport across the channel which divides Madagascar from the adjoining main land, or over the ocean which separates it from the Malay Archipelago, may, however, be removed. That there was at one time land communication between Madagascar and the Malay Archipelago is no longer doubtful. The *Lemuridae* are found not only in Madagascar, but also on the continents of Africa and Asia, and as far east as Celebes in the Malay Archipelago; and Dr. Sclater has suggested the name "*Lemuria*" for a now submerged continent which he supposes to have at one time existed between these distant points. Mr. Wallace, also, speculates on the past existence of such a continental area, to account for the curious fact that Celebes possesses various animal forms "which show no relation to those of India or Australia, but rather to those of Africa." Judging from its natural products, Mr. Wallace says that Celebes must be one of the oldest parts of the Archipelago; and he adds that "it probably dates from a period not only anterior to that when Borneo, Java, and Sumatra, were separated from the continent, but from that still more remote epoch when the land that now constitutes these islands had not risen above the ocean." This appears to me to have a very remarkable bearing on the question of the spread of human races in the sub-Asiatic area. For, as I have already shown on the authority of Mr. Logan, that part of the Archipelago, in which an affinity of dialects with the Malagasy is the most strongly marked, includes Celebes, extending northwards to the Philippines. Thus, while the distribution of the mammalia requires, according to Mr. Wallace's view, the non-existence of Borneo, Java, and Sumatra, at the time when Celebes was united to Madagascar, exactly the same supposition is required to account for the peculiar distribution in the same region of the races of man. Celebes is within Mr. Wallace's Papuan continental area, and even supposing that its inhabitants are, as Mr. Wallace asserts, Malay, yet they may have retained through a gradual admixture with the aboriginal population the linguistic peculiarities of the latter. The distribution of the Papuan and Malay, or the dark and light races, in the Malay Archipelago may be thus explained in exact accordance with geographical requirements; as it is the *dark* race with which the Madecasses are the more nearly related, and which inhabits the area supposed to have been at one time connected with this

island and with the African continent itself, thus bringing all the dark races of the tropics into actual contact. Unless this be so, it is almost impossible to explain the position of the Malays between the Papuans and the allied tribes of Madagascar, while the subsequent rise of the area of which the large islands of Borneo, Java and Sumatra are probably remnants, furnished a connection between the Malays and the primitive dark race such as their affinity requires, or rather a mode by which this race, perhaps after the formation among them of a light people, could spread over a more northerly area than that which it had hitherto occupied.

I have elsewhere set out fully the data from which the former existence of a sub-Indian continental area, probably within the human period, may be established, and I will not enter further on the subject here. That Madagascar must have formed part of this continent, if it ever existed, cannot be doubted. This is required by the character of its fauna and flora, but even more by the racial affinities of its human inhabitants. Before ending this paper, I would refer to another curious point in this relation worthy of serious consideration. Whatever distinction there may be between the natural productions of Madagascar and Africa, there can be no doubt that the Madecasses have the domestic fowl, the fat-tailed sheep, and the humped ox, found also among the African peoples, the species being the same, and even the names by which they are known not differing. Moreover, the African peoples who possess these domestic animals are exactly those who are most nearly related to the Madecasses, and who resemble them in being pastoral peoples. I would suggest the probability, therefore, that we have in Madagascar itself the origin of this condition of life, and, as introductory to it, of the domestication of animals. Let us add to this, that the Madecasses excel, equally with the cognate African tribes, in the smelting and working of iron; and we see that they have all the chief elements of progress at their command, although they have not been favoured by other conditions required for their perfect operation. Taking these facts into consideration, we shall not be far wrong if we conclude that, as Australia, or it may be a more westerly area, was the place of man's *origin*, so Madagascar, or some spot not far distant from it and further to the east, was the seat of man's *primitive civilisation*.

Dr. CARTER BLAKE, complimenting Mr. Wake on the importance of his paper, said that the author apparently endeavoured, after demolishing the theory of the Malay affinities of the Madecasses, to prove three theories: first, that the Madecasses were identical with the Eastern African negroes; secondly, that they were identical with the Kafirs; and thirdly, that they were identical with the Hottentots, or with those most degraded examples of the Hottentot race, which were termed Bosjesmen. Now, he admitted that between the Hova skull and the skull of the Eastern African negro there existed little difference, but a resemblance which could be perceived distinctly after examination of the enormous series of Eastern negro skulls derived from Quiloa and Zanzibar. These negroes differed entirely from the negroes of the Gold Coast; and it was the generalisa-

tion of Professor Owen that had shown us that there existed two types, at least, in the Negro race. And he would further admit that the Kafir race and the Eastern African Negro shaded into each other by imperceptible tints. But, when we extend Mr. Wake's argument, and examine the characters of the Hottentot and the Bosjesman, we see indeed a very different type. It appeared to him that the population of Southern Africa might be divided into two great divisions: the one comprehending the Eastern Negro, the Kafir, the Hova, and others; the other comprising the Hottentot and the Bushman. Still, Mr. Wake's paper was undoubtedly of the greatest value.

DR. CHARNOCK wished to know whether the author of the paper had compared the grammar of the Malagasy with that of the Malay. From a comparison of the two, he was inclined to think that there was but little in common between them. Mr. Wake stated that the vocabulary of the Malagasy agreed to a considerable extent with that of the Malay. This might be accounted for by the fact that both had borrowed from the Arabic. The author of the paper also stated that the manners and customs of the Madecasses agreed with those of the Kafirs; but had this originated in ancient or in modern times. If in modern times, it amounted to nothing.

The following also took part in the discussion: Lient. S. P. Oliver, R.A., Dr. Seemann, Mr. Walter Dendy, Mr. Allan, Mr. Mackenzie, and the Chairman.

The meeting then adjourned till Jan. 4th, 1870.

JANUARY 4, 1870.

DR. R. S. CHARNOCK, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.

Andrew Black, Esq., 23, Royal Crescent, Glasgow; John Morgan, Esq., 15, Burton Crescent; and Carl Alphonso Hoffmann, Esq., Elmfield, St. Julian's Road, Streatham, were elected Fellows.

Presents were announced as follows:—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the AUTHOR.—Des Races Humaines, ou Eléments d'Ethnographie. D'Omalus D'Halloys.

From the AUTHOR.—Origines, Migrations, Philologie, et Antiquités, parts 1 and 2. Le Duc du Rousillon.

From the SOCIETY.—Bulletins de la Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou, No. 4, 1869.

From the COLLEGE.—Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College, Nos. 8.—13.

From the BOSTON SOCIETY.—Address on the Centennial Anniversary of the birth of Humboldt. L. Agassiz.

From the AUTHOR.—Observations on a Collection of Chalchihuitls from Mexico and Central America. E. G. Squire, M.A.

From the AUTHOR.—Report upon Sea-dredging. L. Agassiz.
From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 115.
From the CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—The Canadian Journal, No. 4.
From the EDITORS.—Nature; The Medical Press and Circular;
Scientific Opinion.
From DR. RYAN TENISON.—British Medical Journal.

The CHAIRMAN announced that Mr. E. W. Brabrook and Mr. A. L. Lewis had been appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for 1869.

A paper by Mr. L. OWEN PIKE, M.A., "On the Psychological Elements of Religion" was then read.

INTRODUCTION.—*Definition of Terms.*—What is Religion? This, I think, is a question which it is my duty to answer before I have any right to proceed further with the subject which I have undertaken to investigate. The professors of each individual faith sometimes brand as superstitions all the doctrines in which others differ from them, and regard themselves as the only believers in the true religion. It is hardly necessary to remark that were the teachings of any one sect adopted by the man of science in this sense, it would be impossible for him to propound such an inquiry as the present. But where does religion end and superstition begin for the impartial seeker after truth? Is it possible to draw any line with a hope that it will be generally accepted?

The best and the simplest method of dealing with the difficulty will, I think, be to accept the word "religion" in its widest sense, and to remember that the Latin *religio* meant not less superstition than what the orthodox of any creed would term "religion." By religion, then, I do not understand any particular form of any particular faith, nor any particular faith regarded as a whole. I use the word as a generic term, including not only all revelations or pretended revelations, but also the results of every attempt to deal with those hidden mysteries of which we can know nothing except through revelation, or, in other words, which the Laws of Mind will not permit us to solve for ourselves. Those results vary according to the mental constitution and the circumstances of each individual or nation; but to all alike—from the Fetichism of the lowest savage, to Buddhism, the highest form of a creed not dependent on revelation—I give the name of religion. To the myths which form the basis of the most beautiful ancient poems, to the Pantheon of Greek and Roman civilisation, to all the conclusions of metaphysical speculators, to the Pantheism of one school of philosophy, to the Atheism of another, and even to that Scepticism which believes itself the negation of faith, I give alike the name of religion, and I hope in the end to justify my definition.

Though, however, without intending any disrespect to any form of faith, I discard for scientific purposes the distinction between religion and superstition, I have found it necessary to make a two-fold division of religion, which (as I hope to show) naturally falls under two heads:

1. The religion in which both the intellect and the emotions play a part.
2. The religion in which only the intellect plays a part.

The former I place first as that which, in the history of all nations and all individuals, precedes the latter, and is accepted by the great majority of mankind. The latter has never in any age been accepted by more than a few persons who have commonly been misunderstood, who have sometimes misunderstood their own conclusions, and who have never made many converts to their opinions even when they have succeeded in founding a faith. The mental history of such men, however, is of such importance, and their influence upon the direction which religion has taken has been so great, that it would be unjustifiable to exclude their views while searching for the common elements of religion, and for the causes which predispose mankind to accept a revelation.

If it is necessary to give a definition of the term "religion," it is, perhaps, not less necessary to say what I mean by the term "psychical," and to justify its use.

The words "psychical" and "psychology" have the double advantage of being sufficiently precise and yet of implying no theory whatever—a rare and most valuable quality in a scientific term. The Greek word *ψυχή* has a double meaning: (1.) the breath of life; (2.) the soul. And psychology is the science of that aggregate of phenomena which one school declares to be sufficiently explained, or susceptible of explanation by the laws of matter alone, but for which another school postulates the existence of spirit as a necessary cause. It is most fortunate that a word exists which is equally applicable to the views of both schools; it is still more fortunate that the word is of so extended a meaning as to be consistent with the rejection of all the dogmatic axioms of both schools alike. Psychology, in the sense which is not only justified but suggested by etymology, and in the sense in which I use it, is the science of the phenomena of animal life in action. This definition, I am aware, trespasses apparently on the domain of what is commonly called "physiology;" but no psychology is complete without physiology, and it may be added that physiology is but a part of psychology. The waste and repair of tissue are so inseparably connected with volition, with emotion, with sense, and with intellect, that it is impossible to understand either class of phenomena without a knowledge of the other. Psychology, then, may be considered the dynamics of breathing beings, all of which appear to be endowed with consciousness in a greater or less degree; and the psychical elements of religion are those elements, if they may be so-called, which are to be discovered in the animals displaying the phenomena of religion.

Having now attempted to explain the sense in which I use the terms "religion" and "psychical," I will make a few remarks concerning my use of the term element. It is a word which has seen many changes, and which may possibly see many more. When applied to visible matter, it no longer means earth, air, fire, or water; and far be it from me to suggest that some of the mental phenomena which in our time are considered elementary, may not one day be resolved into more simple constituent parts. Indeed, it is already allowed by psychologists of most schools that the faculty of discrimination, or the sense of difference, is the ultimate basis of all psychical phenomena. But,

although every state of feeling may be said to involve this sense of difference in one form or other, the fact still remains that there is a wide distinction between an emotion and an intellectual perception, and that we do not as yet know precisely what is the cause of that distinction. To an emotion, therefore, and to a simple intellectual law of association, I have ventured to give the name of element, though I am fully prepared to admit that the expression must be considered somewhat faulty. I can only plead in apology that I have sought for a better word in vain.

I trust, however, that the object of the present inquiry is now sufficiently plain, though I may, perhaps, render it still plainer by giving a definition of "the psychical elements of religion" in gross, instead of term by term. I mean by the phrase those simple faculties or simple laws in the constitution of breathing beings, which faculties or laws can be traced in all forms of religion, including superstition; and I divide religion into two classes, because I hope to show that to one kind of religion two or more psychical conditions are necessary, while the other is but the recognition of the one fundamental but simple law of consciousness.

PART I.—*The Elements of Popular Creeds.*—No people which has handed down a literature has omitted to hand down a creed; and in all the popular creeds which have been handed down to us there are certain points of resemblance. All make a certain appeal to the intellect; all make a certain appeal to the emotions. Every superstition proclaims that a person or persons must be propitiated, and lays down a definite form of propitiation. Gods are always endowed with powers, motives, and feelings like those of human beings in kind, though greater in degree. It would be useless to prostrate oneself to a God who could not see, to pray to a God who could not hear, to sacrifice to a God who found no sweetness in the savour of sacrifice, to thank a God who could not be gratified, or to make atonement to a God who could not be angry. Such as the man is, such in character, though greater, must be the conception of the God; and, though the form of his body or bodies has varied, it has always been supposed that, in the mental affections at least, God made man in his own image. Nor is any other conception possible, as the human intellect is at present constituted; for any attempt to conceive the divine nature differently ends in Atheism, in Pantheism, which is Atheism in disguise, in Scepticism, which doubts, though it does not deny, the existence of a divine Person, or in the utter negation of thought. The modern English Church, it is true, has declared God to be without body, parts, or passions, but does not, therefore, demand any intellectual assent to that proposition. It appeals not to the reason, but to the faith of the believer. It allows that God is a mystery beyond the grasp of man, and shrinks from the use of words which would profanely imply that He is in any respect like miserable human beings. But no form of prayer has yet been devised which does not tacitly assume that God listens to mankind as a great King listens to the petitions of his subjects. The weakness of the human intellect is a fact which

not even faith can disguise, and which man is compelled to declare in every word which he addresses to God.

The most beautiful, and perhaps the most rational, of all superstitions is that which attributes to the heavenly bodies the power of ordering all earthly events. Among all the natural objects which delight the senses, or appeal to the imagination, there are none which are so rich at once in charms for the eye and in food for the mind as an eastern sky on a clear night. Of the myriads of stars in the deep dark vault there is not one that is not lovely in itself, nor one that is not typical of order. As each pursues its appointed way, sometimes lost to view, but always returning at its appointed time, never destroying or attacking its fellows, it suggests the idea of a destiny benevolent but immutable.

The astrologers of Persia and Egypt must soon have discovered, not only that the succession of the seasons is as certain as the course of the moon and the stars, but that the seasons themselves depend upon the relative positions of the stars, the earth, and the sun. Night and day, summer and winter, seedtime and harvest, the blossom and the fruit, the breeding of cattle, and the flow of the tides are all influenced by the position of the sun or the moon, and may be predicted with certainty by the aid of astronomy. If the sun ceased to give us its light and heat, the pastures would cease to be green with herbage, the crops would cease to grow, the flocks and herds would cease to multiply, and man himself would cease to exist. The wise men of the east had in very early times advanced so far in knowledge that these facts were as clearly comprehended by them as by the astronomers and the chemists of a later age. But there was more poetry in their minds than in the minds of our more practical men of science. They were not content to regard light and heat as mere force; they converted the object from which heat and light appeared to come into a person—a God that had a will and ought to be worshipped.

There was thus introduced in very early times a difficulty which has recurred again and again in various religions, the difficulty of reconciling destiny with free will. The worshippers of the sun and the planets believed that the future could be predicted by the aid of the heavens, and were yet inconsistent enough to beseech the immutable stars for changes in their fate. They reasoned well enough at first; they were certain that many terrestrial events were brought to pass by celestial agency, and could be predicted through a knowledge of the celestial bodies; and they inferred that, as a necessary consequence, all events could be predicted in a similar manner. They omitted only one scientific process—verification. So far went their reason; then came in their own feelings, or the feelings of their disciples. It is terrible to face the unalterable, the inexorable fate. The Being that possessed incalculable power must surely, they thought, be not devoid of mercy, of tenderness, of sympathy for woe. He might be angry like themselves, and His anger might be pacified. He could not have created them with wills of which the apparent freedom was but a mockery, with hopes that were but delusions, with life that was no better than the existence of the falling leaf or the running water.

They would not believe all this. They would think better of themselves and better of the gods; for the planets soon became gods, like the sun, though less in power. The planets which, according to astrology, ruled by inflexible laws, presided, according to superstition, over the ever changing phases of life. If every day and every hour were influenced by the sun, or the moon, or some minor luminary, every human interest was the special care of a deity identical in name and in attributes with one of the heavenly bodies. The Sage discovered the power, and believed in more than the power of the heavens over the earth; the poet transferred the human form and human passions to the skies.

Astrology, however, has not been the only source of superstition. The earth has contributed gods no less than the heavens. The deification and personification of terrestrial objects, or of human powers, may, perhaps, in some cases, be merely a degradation of astrology. The respect once paid to the presiding deity may have been gradually transferred to the faculties over which he presided, to the earthly emblems of his influence. Star-worship is, however, but one development of an almost universal tendency, and a development which implies a considerable degree of civilisation. It requires less intellectual effort to conceive the tides and the storms as independent powers, or as powers possessed by spirits, than to conceive them as the dependents of a power or powers by which they are ruled from afar. Water-gods and storm-gods have taken the human form without the intervention of astrology; they have received prayers and sacrifices, and thank-offerings without number. In some mythologies there is not a stream nor a grove without its spirit, nor a place of any kind without its genius.* The earth, and the air, and the waters have been peopled with innumerable beings in the likeness of men and women, sometimes hating with the fiercest of human passions, sometimes loving with the sweetest of human sympathies.

In all these Gods of the past, human nature has but expressed its hopes, and its fears, its joys and its miseries, its defeats and its victories, its littleness and its greatness. Mythology and superstition are the mirrors of mankind; they reflect all the knowledge, and all the feelings, and all the motives of the people to which they belong. Though the earliest tales may have lost their meaning, though the corruptions of language may obscure a beautiful allegory, though poet succeeding poet may have destroyed the simplicity of the fable which they have adorned, still each story in the form in which it exists is a chronicle of the manners of men, and of the character and the source of their religious feelings. Even the worship of bulls and serpents is an appeal to human sentiments no less than the worship of Apollo or Minerva. The fact that some animals are distinguished from others by great differences of passion or instinct is known even to the savage; and it is not wonderful that men should have paid homage to strength, and courage, and craft, under the form

* This fact is a source of constant and bitter complaint to all the early Christian fathers. Such superstitions were common to almost all peoples, and almost all countries.

of the animals in which they are most conspicuous. In Egypt, however, there was what appears at first sight a brute-worship which a very slight knowledge of astrology will suffice to explain. A resemblance was traced between various groups of stars and various animals found upon the earth, and the names of the animals were by a very natural process made to serve as names of the constellations. It was soon discovered that the sun appeared to run his course through twelve of these constellations in the year, returning always to the point from which he had started. It thus became convenient to designate the seasons by the position of the sun. At the vernal equinox the sun entered Aries, or the Ram; and as a symbol of the spring the Egyptians made the God Ammon, whom they represented with the head and horns of a ram, but in whom, nevertheless Alexander the Great recognised, as he supposed, the Zeus of the Greeks. So the worship of Apis, the calf-god, and of the sacred bull, is simply the worship of the sun in Taurus, into which constellation he entered after leaving Aries. The Phoenix, which rises ever new from its own ashes, is but the Sun, which rises again and again from the night in which it is lost. The faith of the Egyptians, though it seems, until it is explained, the most brutal and monstrous which ever disgraced humanity, is but an elaborate form of sun-worship appealing to the senses through its emblems. The sun was worshipped as the sun simply, under the name of Ra; but it was the doctrine of the astrologers* that his influence varied with the constellation through which he might be passing; and he was worshipped under his different characters, just as Jupiter was worshipped by the Romans, sometimes as the thunderer, sometimes as the giver of rain, and sometimes as the god of boundaries. Had the Egyptians discovered one very important astronomical fact, which subsequent observation has added to our knowledge, the gods Ammon and Apis would never have been worshipped. Astronomers still announce that the sun enters Aries at the vernal equinox, but they speak of the sign and not of the constellation. The twelve signs of the Zodiac and their names are still retained as an arbitrary division of the sun's apparent course; but the constellations and the signs are no longer identical. The precession of the equinoxes has falsified all the wisdom and all the religion of the Egyptians.

Through ram-worship and bull-worship, through sun-worship, and star-worship, through storm-worship and water-worship, through prayers to all the good gods, and bribes to all the bad gods, may be seen the worship of a magnified humanity. It is necessary to inquire more closely what is the explanation of this universal law—why man in all countries seeks for a god, and why all the gods have, in one aspect at least, a resemblance to man. In their own frames, and in everything external to them, there is something to remind human beings of their weakness. In the midst of life we are in death. There is no power in all nature that we can change by any effort of our own. The hopes created by the best laid plans may be destroyed

* Ptolemy, *Tetrabib.*

by circumstances beyond the human ken. The fears which hem us in, and appear to leave no possibility of escape, may be dissipated by some unforeseen event. The affections that cling around a beloved object may be left torn and bleeding by some calamity that suggests the existence of a cruel and a quasi-human foe. The proudest and the strongest, the bravest and the wisest, are made to feel the humiliation of dependence, and that sense of dependence or of weakness is the foundation of all religion.

If religion in its first form is an attribute of humanity, it is still more an attribute of the female sex. All men are dependent, but women are even more dependent than men. It is a part of their nature to persuade, to implore, to please and sometime to sacrifice. It is a part of their nature to believe in the efficacy of entreaty; and what is a part of their nature is a part also of the nature of the weaker and more oppressed among men. It is not difficult for any human being to discover how much depends upon the good will and sympathy of others. The smile of a king or the frown of a tyrant, the mercy of an enemy or the loss of a friend, may make the misery or the happiness of a life; they may follow the soft word or the harsh word, conciliation or neglect. And it is not wonderful that the unseen power should have been likened to the powers which are seen. The loss to the mother is the same whether the son be taken from her by the spear of the foe or by the shaft of disease; the loss to the farmer is the same whether his cattle be stolen, or destroyed by murrain, whether his crops fail through want of sun, or are trampled down by human feet. Ruin or prosperity may be brought to pass through human agency or by means which human intelligence cannot understand; still men only followed a law of their being when they connected similar effects with similar causes.

A survey of all those ancient religions which are best known to us shows that they all agreed in reflecting human nature in the Heavens. They appear, however, to have differed in one important respect; the reflection of some was purely mental, the reflection of others was not only mental but corporeal. Some gave human passions and devices to the visible objects of the sky; others represented quasi-human beings as the governors of those objects themselves. But it may be safely asserted not only of those ancient faiths, but of every popular creed in every age, that they all exhibit two well-marked mental phenomena:

1. The operation of the emotion of fear.
2. The operation of that Intellectual Law* of Association, according to which like effects are attributed to like causes.

In short, the average human being has a dread of certain unknown powers because he likens them to himself. I do not, of course, assert that the same elements enter into all religions in the same proportions. The emotional element must necessarily vary with the individual; both the quantity and the quality of fear must be different in different persons; and the evidence of this fact is to be

* Called by Professor Bain the "law of similarity." (See the *Senses and the Intellect*, *passim*.)

discovered in the preference shown by some for a patron god or saint of one character, and by others for one of another character. But every widely accepted religion gives play to the emotions, and every religion which gives play to the emotions introduces a power which is propitiated and therefore feared.

It will, I am aware, be objected that the religion of Jesus is a religion not of fear but of love, and it will be objected also that no religion can be popular unless it offers comfort and happiness in one form or other. I do not dispute either of these statements, but I maintain, nevertheless, that fear is the great emotional basis of all popular religions. Out of fear springs hope, and a religion becomes widely diffused in proportion as it encourages the hopes of the fearful; but even Christianity, with its exquisite tenderness for the weak and the oppressed, declares that all shall be damned who, after the gospel has been preached to them, will not believe. It may be true that the emotional foundation of every popular religion is hope, but it is no less true that the foundation is laid on fear.

PART II.—*The Elements of Philosophic Creeds.*—Thus far I have dealt only with the religion of great masses—with the religion which appeals to popular feeling and in a certain sense to popular comprehension. I now approach that other form of religion to which the name of philosophy is commonly given, but which is, after all, only another aspect of human nature striving for a knowledge of that which it cannot grasp by its own faculties. The average man, though he feels a desire to know something of the universe and of the causes which he believes to be external to himself, is ready to take for granted the current faith of the day. But minds of a certain class existing in almost every age, though always limited in number, burn to make discoveries for themselves and to penetrate beyond the dogmas of theology. The history of the attempts made by such minds to found a science of Ontology, or of the Absolute, or in other words to escape the laws of their own existence, constitutes, perhaps, at once the most painful and the most instructive chapter in the history of man. The story repeats itself again and again; it is a circle beginning with inquiry and coming round to scepticism—which is but inquiry, or the admission that knowledge is wanting, expressed in Greek. And this serpent of delusive hope has been biting its own tail for more than twenty centuries.* Of this fact there is no doubt; but what, it may be asked, is the cause.

The cause, I answer, is to be found in the great fundamental law of the intellect, the law of relativity or discrimination—the law that the mind can have no knowledge of any objects except in their relation to another or other objects, and in relation also to itself. This law there seems every reason to believe that the founder of the Buddhist religion, whoever he may have been, not only discovered but appreciated in its full significance. It seems to be admitted by common consent that the person to whom the epithet of Buddha has been given separated himself from the world during many years which

* The story is told with admirable clearness in Mr. G. H. Lewes's *Biographical History of Philosophy*.

he passed in reflection, and that when he re-appeared from his seclusion he believed in nothing, he saw no reality anywhere, and considered that extinction or absorption into the nothing was the great end of intellectual life. It is, without doubt possible that with our modern ideas we may attribute modern forms of thought to ancient thinkers, but the words in which Buddha's conclusions are expressed do certainly appear to imply a knowledge of the great law that we cannot know anything, except in its double relation to other things and to ourselves, and that the philosopher's desire for a higher knowledge is to human beings, as at present constituted, a desire for nothing—for annihilation.

Before, however, I enter further upon the consideration of this great law in its religious aspect, I feel it necessary to remark that a distinction must be drawn between the doctrines of Buddha and the various subsequent forms of Buddhism. Throughout all nature there appear to be connecting links; and in religion, as in all other matters there are such imperceptible gradations that there is a certain point at which it is difficult to pronounce whether emotion still forms an element or not, just as it is difficult to pronounce whether some organisms belong to the animal or the vegetable kingdom. In Buddhism especially are these connecting links of religion to be found. The Buddhists of the contemplative Mahayana school personified the "nothing" by supposing it, under the name of Alaya, to be a soul and the substratum of all things. This conversion of nothing into a something was of course, if I have correctly interpreted Buddha's teaching, a direct contradiction of his most cherished belief; and yet perhaps it was the only interpretation possible for minds less profound than his in an age when he alone had discovered the fundamental law of mind. From the doctrine of a soul to the doctrine of a personal deity with definite attributes, the transition is not very difficult; and in Japan Buddha became a supreme God who sits enthroned in a heaven of diamonds, and who is an Almighty creator.*

The various forms of the Buddhist religion, even were there no other reason, would compel us to include the creed of the vulgar in the same category with the conclusions of the metaphysician. To the latter his conclusions are his religion no less than their faith to the former; and though it is possible, and for certain purposes convenient, to draw a broad line of demarcation between the two, yet it is no less certain that the immediate followers of any great metaphysico-religious teacher vacillate between adherence to a formula which they but imperfectly comprehend, and the desire to enunciate

* I am unable (and I can hardly say that I regret it) to confirm my views of Buddha and Buddhism by that style of reference which is affected by accurate compilers. To give chapter and verse for a number of insignificant facts might command the approbation of the *Saturday Review*, but would give no assistance towards the comprehension of a great mind. I can only say that I have formed my opinion after a very careful comparison of the best and most recent works on Buddhism, including those of Schlagintweit and Professor Max Müller.

more positive doctrines which seem to them more intelligible. Thus it happens that whatever the teaching of the founder may have been, there is no popular creed which is not distinctly anthropomorphic. Philosophers themselves, too, and many even of those who recognise the great law of relativity,* often forget this fundamental law in practice, and so give a species of philosophic sanction to religion in its more popular form. At the very moment at which the existence of "the absolute," or "the infinite," or "the unconditioned," or "the all" or even "the nothing" is asserted or inferred as a fact independent of human consciousness, the great law is forgotten and the first step is made towards a renewal in some form or other, of the primary or anthropomorphic kind of faith. The philosopher's "something which underlies phenomena" stands in the place of (and is frequently called) his god. His esoteric disciples accept his views perhaps in nearly the same sense as himself, but when they preach to the outer world they forget the associations which already belong in every country to the name of God, and are surprised to discover that philosophy leaves the creed of the masses as nearly as possible where it was before.

Apart, then, from Revelation with which it is not our province to deal, it appears that religions vary with the introduction of the intellectual elements and the exclusion of the emotional. In a land in which the popular creed accepted the idea of Zeus enthroned on a lofty mountain and hurling his thunderbolts far and wide, it was possible for Pyrrho to pass through all the phases of thought which lead to scepticism—to the admission that we can know nothing of existence in itself, if such existence there be. In another land, into which the sceptical doctrines of Buddha were introduced as a creed, it was possible to evolve the idea of a God-like Zeus, seated on a diamond throne. These two lands were as widely separated by space, by race, by climate, and by language as Greece and Japan. Can any more convincing proof be needed that the psychical ground-work of religion is everywhere the same, but that religion differs in proportion as pure intellect is brought to bear upon the problems with which it deals?

In tracing the links which connect the ordinary religion of great masses with the religion of pure intellect, I have hitherto left almost unnoticed the important part which has been played by language in persuading the human mind to deceive itself. The growing science of comparative mythology illustrates this remarkable phenomenon in one of its aspects; the positive conclusions of some systems of philosophy illustrate it in another. In the former case language has at length been forced to reveal her own delusions; in the latter a different method is necessary, though the process discovered by comparative philology in the one case affords a clue to the process discoverable in the other. Nor is it necessary to admit all the conjectures

* Among these may be mentioned Sir W. Hamilton, Cousin, Hegel, and, I fear, at least one of the most justly distinguished thinkers of our own time.

of the most advanced students of mythology in order to detect the personification of natural objects and natural forces through the medium of words. It is plain enough that the history of Daphne,* considered as a person, is but a very realistic, or, if the term be preferred, poetical version of the dawn of day with its attendant and subsequent phenomena. It is perhaps less plain, but certainly not less true, that "the Unconditioned," "the Absolute," "the Infinite" and many other "thes" followed by a capital initial are words tending to a personification, it may be poetical but certainly realistic.

The difference between the mythological term and the philosophical term is this. The former, being originally the name of a phenomenon of which cognisance is taken by the senses, requires no intermediate step between its primary and its secondary or anthropomorphic signification; the dawn, which (as far as we are concerned) is an actual fact, is personified, and the name of the fact is transferred to the person. The philosophical term may no less undergo the same change of meaning; it may be, and frequently is, used to designate a personal divinity; but its origin can be traced back some stages farther, and in this respect there is a very important difference between it and the mythological term. But when the philosophical term is used as the name of a deity, it is not the name of anything tangible, visible, or appreciable by any of the senses; it is the name of an attribute, which attribute can always be resolved into a negation. The absolute, for instance, is the negation of the relative; the infinite of the finite; the unconditioned of the conditioned. The use of these words affords a most instructive illustration of the law of relativity, and of the manner in which it asserts itself through all the deceptions of language. All these delusive philosophical terms are found in pairs, and there can be no pair without a relation of some kind subsisting between its two constituents. But upon consideration, I think, it will invariably be found that each of these two constituents is, in every case, if not meaningless, at least inconceivable. It is obvious that no one can realise to himself the meaning of the negative term (as *e.g.* of the infinite) without realising the meaning of the positive (as *e.g.* of the finite). Now the "finite" as a something, or a totality of many somethings existing, *per se*, is to me at least wholly inconceivable. I know what a finite stick is, and what any other particular finite object is, but I do not know what "the finite" is except in the sense of an attribute possessed by various tangible or visible substances—by substances of which I can take cognisance by some of my senses. I may perceive, too, that many objects resemble others in so far as they are finite, but I am still no nearer a knowledge of "the finite" *per se*; and I am utterly unable to grasp the

* I have chosen the story of Daphne as a typical illustration, because it is one concerning the origin of which there can be no doubt. The word occurs, with little change of form, in different Aryan languages (*e.g.*, Ahana, Dahana, Daphne, Dawn), and the story is as simple as beautiful. The love and pursuit of the Sun are invariably followed by the death of the Dawn. (See Mr. G. W. Cox's *Manual of Comp. Myth.*, etc., and Professor Max Müller's paper on the same subject in the Oxford Essays.)

idea of a totality of things finite, because the law of relativity compels me to think of another thing or things beyond. And if I have no idea of the finite, in this sense, which is the philosophical sense, I have of course no idea of "the infinite," which can only be the negation of I know not what. In the use of all these philosophical terms we see mind led captive by symbols of its own creation. Certain words are coined in order to serve, in logical phrase, as the names of attributes, but there is a tendency in most human minds to regard these names as something more than the names of attributes, or perhaps rather to forget what is meant by the expression. We are all apt to forget, as Plato forgot, that when we speak of blueness, of humanity, or even of relativity, we are speaking only of modes of resemblance between various objects of sense or thought. All blue objects resemble each other in a particular manner, all human beings in another particular manner, all pairs of objects in standing towards each other in some relation. But no one has any cognisance of blueness, of humanity, or of relations of any kind apart from the blue objects, human objects, or objects in relation.* By a convenient fiction, however, it is possible to speak of any attribute, or in other words, of any mode of resemblance, in language identical in form with the language applied to the objects in which these modes of resemblance are traced. It is grammatically no less correct to say that blueness charms the sight than that the sky or the ocean charms the sight—that humanity has its troubles than that human beings have their troubles—that relations meet us everywhere than that we meet everywhere with objects in relation. But the faculty by which we give a name to an attribute, or mode of resemblance, is that faculty by which we are enabled to perceive similarity, and to which has been given the title of a law of association—the law of similarity. If we see a blue object to-day we think of blue objects we have seen on previous occasions and give to the mode of resemblance the name of blueness. And we perform just the same operation when we understand what we mean by the name of any attribute or any mode of resemblance.

If now we attempt to apply this method of examination to the term infinity, we shall discover, in the first place, that it means only the negation of finity; and when we apply it to the term finity, if such a word may be coined for the occasion, we shall see at once that no more is meant than that mode of resemblance which we perceive in finite objects. A short thick stick, and a long thin stick resemble each other in having ends; finity or finitude is the term used to express that mode of resemblance, to express the relation in which finite objects stand towards each other. To use the word in any other signification is to forget what an attribute really is, to change the value of the symbols used in psychological problems. What would be thought of a mathematician who having discovered

* This undoubted fact depends ultimately on the "law of inseparable association", which it is not necessary to dwell upon here, but which is very clearly explained by Mr. J. S. Mill, in his *Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy*, chap. xiv.

the value of x to be $y-z$ should endeavour to ascertain its numerical equivalent on the assumption that $x=2(y+z)$? Yet an analogous mistake is continually made by seekers after infinity, who quite forget that, if they retain the value originally assigned to their symbols throughout their investigations, infinity means no more than the absence of that resemblance which is perceived between sticks or other objects of various lengths, breadths or diameters, of which resemblance we can have no knowledge except such as may come to us through the objects themselves.

What has been said of the finitude and infinitude, of the finite and the infinite, may be said *mutatis mutandis* of the other similar pairs of philosophical terms. I have selected the finite and the infinite for the purpose of illustrating my meaning, because the existence of the word infinity enabled me to point out the double ambiguity of meaning which is commonly wrapped up in these traps for acute intellects. Those philosophers who argue in favour of the independent existence of "infinity" do not draw any clear distinction between it and "the infinite." Nor can I draw any such distinction, as I do not profess to have any conception of either. But I can discover by the forms of language that "infinity" must be the negation of finity or finitude, and that "the infinite" must be the negation of "the finite." Of finity or finitude I know no more than that it is the name of an attribute—of a mode of resemblance—and expresses the fact that certain objects have been compared and have been found to agree in the possession of that attribute. The negation of this attribute conveys no definite idea to my mind. I have no experience of any objects in which the attribute is wanting, and, therefore, no experience of any objects in which the want of it can be regarded as a mode of resemblance. "The finite," on the other hand, which, when it is explained at all, is explained to mean the sum of all finite objects, is quite beyond the intellectual grasp, because every attempt to apprehend it can be made only on the assumption of a boundary between this totality of finite objects and an unknown region beyond. But this unknown region must itself be either finite or infinite. We cannot conceive it as infinite because we start with the idea of a boundary; we cannot conceive it as finite because we start with the supposition that it is beyond the sum of finite objects. And we discover, therefore, that it is mere self-deception to persuade ourselves that we have any idea either of "the finite" or of "the infinite" in the sense of a totality.* The law of relativity, which forces us to draw a comparison, presents an insuperable obstacle to omniscience even of things finite.

The process of personifying "the infinite" differs, then, from the process of personifying the dawn by the interposition of three distinct stages: (1) an attribute, or mode of resemblance, receives a name

* This is the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Herbert Spencer, though, strangely enough, he does not apply his discovery to "the relative" and "the absolute", but infers the positive existence of "the absolute." It seems clear that we cannot, for reasons similar to those already given, have any conception of "the relative" as a totality, and, therefore, *à fortiori*, that we cannot infer from it the existence of "the absolute."

(finitude) which can be used in grammatical construction in precisely the same manner as the name of an object possessing attributes ; (2) the absence of this attribute or mode of resemblance is, by a convenient linguistic fiction, described as being in itself an attribute (infinitude) ; (3) a pair of names is coined for the purpose of expressing the totality of all modes of existence—one name to express the totality of all things possessing the particular attribute, "the finite ;" the other to express the totality of all things not possessing it, "the infinite." And then "the infinite," like the dawn, is in name—though certainly not like the dawn in conception—personified.

I shall probably be asked how it is possible, if the mind really works according to definite laws, that meaningless conclusions or false conclusions can ever be arrived at. I think it will not be very difficult to show that the operation of those very laws upon the imperfect contrivances of language is sufficient to explain the whole mystery. Could we always command a clear comprehension of the fact to be expressed together with a word free from all other associations and adequate to the expression of that fact, we should have fewer systems of philosophy, and an easier method of exposing fallacies. But when most words have many different meanings it is no easy matter, even with the best intentions, to avoid the pitfalls of ambiguity ; and many of these pitfalls have been laid by logicians in their attempts to escape from others. They have commonly perceived so much of the law of discrimination or relativity as to be aware that, in order to have any perception or conception of an object or of any of its attributes, it must be compared with something else. And, as a compendious way of stating this fact, they have invented such pairs of terms as horse and not-horse, blue and not-blue, man and not-man, finite and infinite. Now this is a curious illustration of the law of similarity ; like contrivances are applied to what are at first sight like cases, and where the cases really are like no harm is done. A horse is defined to the eye and to the recollection by objects which are not horses, blue objects by objects which are not blue, and so the law of discrimination is satisfied. But when finite objects are treated in the same way as a class opposed to infinite, there is no likeness except in the form of the words. A blue object is marked out by other objects not blue, *but a finite object, considered simply as finite, must necessarily be defined by objects which are also finite.* What is the boundary in the one case is the boundary in the other, and the correlate for what is finite is not what is infinite, but what is finite also ; and the coexistence of the two or more finite things satisfies the fundamental law of relativity, while the attempt to satisfy it by the invention of a something infinite ends in a meaningless contradiction in terms.*

As we perceive objects which are finite by the aid of others which are finite, so we perceive objects which stand in any relation by the aid of those in relation to which they stand. So, too, the law of dis-

* I believe I have not been anticipated in this solution of an ever-recurring paradox. It seems to me to supply a mode of escape from one of the greatest psychological difficulties, or, rather, to show that the difficulty does not exist.

crimination cannot be satisfied by the invention of a non-relative class as opposed to that which is relative, for here again there would be a contradiction in terms and a futile attempt to violate the law, in apparent obedience to which the term non-relative or absolute has been invented. The non-relative must be the correlate of the relative; it must be, in short, just that which by its name it proclaims itself not to be; it must be at once in relation and not in relation.

Thus these ultimate negative abstract terms of some past, and I fear I must add even some modern, philosophies can be traced back to their origin, divested of their accumulated ambiguities, and shown to be mere symbols used in obedience to a false analogy. Thus the worship of the Word may be seen to have been perpetuated for centuries in a manner not intended by the fourth Evangelist. But to what, it may be asked, does the scientific search for a basis of religion bring us when we have discovered abstractions to be mere abstractions and meaningless terms to be devoid of meaning? To Atheism, to Pantheism, or to Scepticism? I answer, to none of these. We come only to the humble recognition of our human weakness, of which we have all the certainty that human beings can possess.

Beyond this, both the Atheist and the Pantheist, like metaphysicians of various schools, attempt to penetrate—but in vain. Both the Pantheist and the Atheist deny the personality of God—of that which we cannot know. They lay down a dogma, which is at least as full of mystery, as difficult to comprehend, as the dogmas of any religion. We can no more realise to our own minds the attributes of Divinity when they are applied to matter or force than when they are applied to a person. "The eternal," which is, in its usual acceptance, only another name for "the infinite," is beyond the intellectual grasp of human beings. The "indestructibility of matter" and the "eternity of force" are terms which add nothing to our knowledge. It is within our experience that when matter undergoes a change it continues to be matter in another form, and that when force appears to be lost it is but transmuted into force again. But for all this we have only the evidence of our senses and of our reason; carry discovery as far as you please and it is at last only the discovery of what is true relatively to human beings. Could it be proved that force is but a mode of matter, or that matter is but a mode of force, the proof would still be good only for human beings, and would leave untouched the great problem which has been called philosophic, but which might with propriety be termed philomoric—the problem of ontology, of what exists independently of all sense and all inference.

But, it may be said, to deny the possibility of knowledge, is to preach, if not Atheism, at least Scepticism. Scepticism, however, is, I think, a word inapplicable to any profound conviction, and most of all when that conviction is consistent with nearly every form of religious belief. And, apart from the implicit faith which is given to a revelation, there cannot be any human conviction more profound than that of the psychologist concerning the fundamental law of the human intellect. This, it must be remembered, is knowledge as positive as any of which we are capable, though not knowledge in the sense in

which the ancient philosophers desired it. And, though the perception of this law teaches a humility as deep as that of any religious system, it brings at the same time its own consolation. For the very law which precludes all knowledge except of things in relation to each other, and to ourselves, denies the power of conceiving a totality even of such relative knowledge. "The greater the circle of light, the greater the boundary of darkness," said Sir Humphrey Davy; and this profound remark, when translated into psychological language, means that the greater the number of relations discovered, the greater must we conceive to be the number discoverable. Each point in the circle stands in some relation to a point, or points, beyond the circle, and as the circumference is increased, so also must be increased the number of the points and of their relations. Thus the admission of our weakness is rewarded by a sense of our power, and, though the scientific progress of the individual man may be bounded by the term of his life, the scientific progress of mankind can be bounded only by the term of the duration of the species.

This is the ultimate conclusion of psychology, and may, in a sense, be considered a religion—a religion of humility tempered with self-respect. It is also a possible ingredient in most of the popular religions—whether they are, or profess to be, revealed or not. I do not mean to assert that the ordinary believer of a popular creed has any distinct notion of the law of relativity, but he has a glimmering of the truth that he cannot, by his own unaided intellect, discover the origin and real nature of the world external to himself—if such a world there be. And this sense of mystery is very nearly allied to fear, and so connects the emotional element of all wide-spread religions with the purely intellectual element which constitutes the creed of the psychologist apart from his acceptance of revelation.

It appears then, I think, that the result has justified my statement that the attempts of what has been called philosophy must be considered in any search for the psychical elements of religion. Revelation has always presented itself as a message from that world which philosophy has striven in vain to reach. But while philosophy has been engaged in a fruitless struggle to free itself from the laws of the human mind, every messenger of every revelation has made use of those laws as the foundation upon which his edifice must be built. Thus the first preacher of every creed has stated either clearly or indistinctly, if not the law of relativity and the law that we cannot know anything except in its double relation to ourselves and to other objects—at least, some of the consequences which follow from that law. And thus he is always in perfect agreement with the teachings of psychology. No one, I trust, will suppose that I mention this fact as a proof of the truly divine origin of any revelation. To make use of such an argument, or of any scientific argument, would, in my opinion, be to place religion in a false position. Nor, on the other hand, when I show that every widely accepted creed goes beyond the simple recognition of human weakness, and makes out of human fears and human imagination a man-like god or gods, do I intend to argue against the truth of any form of faith. It is little more than a truism

to say that the religion of human beings could not have any existence if there were no human minds to entertain it. I have endeavoured to discover what special mental functions are necessary to religion, and, I trust, not altogether without success. I believe my conclusions illustrate some of the phenomena of the French revolution; I believe, too, that they give a certain power of predicting future events; and I do not hesitate to say that, so long as human beings are bound by the law of relativity, so long as they are susceptible of fear, and so long as they attribute like effects to like causes, so long will there be religion of one kind or other in every community.

The REV. DUNBAR HEATH said that the idea of this paper seemed to be that there was a sort of psychical protoplasm, the same in all men, which under different circumstances formed different organisms, as it were, for religion. The ordinary opinion is that religion speaks to a special faculty in man, and even Bishop Temple goes so far as to say that there is such a faculty under the name of conscience, thereby assuming that cats and dogs, who undoubtedly have a conscience, are thereby, *ipso facto*, the recipients of revelation. The idea is that certain non-human, or superhuman, or spiritual elements are first breathed into us, and then that these are cherished and addressed by a superhuman afflation; this is simply as impossible as that two and two should make five; for all that the human being can feel, think, or do, must of course, by the nature of things, be a human feeling, thought, or deed. This is one of the true points in Mr. Pike's paper. He then divides religion rightly into intellectual and emotional; but here we should remember that all compound states of the human mind are a combination of the intellectual and emotional, and that thus again religion does not depend on a special faculty. As to the relative value of these two elements, he (Mr. Heath) perfectly agreed with Buckle that the second is very far beneath the other. Mr. Heath then gave an instance of a radical contradiction between some of the human psychical elements when applied to religion; viz., in the religious psychical idea of God being a Person. A person, he showed, was necessarily a bounded and finite being, commonly called an individual. This contradicts the other common psychical idea of God being infinite or unbounded; the two distinctly contradicting each other. Finally, he said, looking round at the whole subject, we must give our best energies to the mighty task of enlightening intellect, and giving a charitable play to emotion.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion:—The Rev. Dunbar Heath, Mr. Dibley, Mr. Walter Dendy, Mr. Charlesworth, Mr. Macrae Moir, Mr. Moncure Conway, Mr. Reddie, and Mr. Blake.

The meeting then adjourned till 1st February.

Dr.				Ca.						
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1869.										
To Balance, January 1, 1869:										
Bank	93	9	1							
Collected in 1868	7	17	6							
In hand, petty cash	10	12	1							
" " subscriptions	3	4	0							
To Subscriptions received, 1869:				115	2	8				
{ Secretary	£445	9	4							
{ Collected	239	8	0							
{ Bank	46	4	0							
Annual ...				731	1	4				
Life Compositions				92	8	0				
To Subscriptions on account of arrears:										
1863-6	£12	12	0							
1867	10	10	0							
1868	54	12	0							
To Subscriptions in advance for 1870	14	14	0							
To Sales of Publications:				915	17	4				
{ Waltz	£6	12	7							
{ Broca	2	1	11							
{ Pouchet	2	8	0							
Translations...				24	8	0				
{ Vogt	6	2	5							
{ Blumenbach	3	11	5							
{ Gastaldi ...	3	11	8							
Memoirs, vols. i and ii				23	8	6				
To Office Sales:										
Review and Journal	£10	19	8							
Cases to ditto	1	11	3							
To Exploration Fund, donation				60	7	5				
				0	2	0				
				£1091	9	5				
We have examined the above account, with the vouchers and books of the Society, and do certify it to have been correctly prepared.										
				A. L. LEWIS.						
				(Signed)						
				EDWARD W. BRABROOK.						
				15th Jan., 1870.						

By payments on account of printer:					
Memoirs, vol. ii, balance	119	7	0		
Anthrop. Rev., 1867 account, balance	200	0	0		
General account 1867, balance	103	5	2		
General account 1868, balance	32	17	6		
By payments on account of			455	9	8
Reporting	28	17	6		
Advertising	13	7	4		
Lithography for vol. iii Memoirs	15	0	0		
By salaries, etc.:			57	4	10
Secretary, year's salary	100	0	0		
Gray and Pridcaux, accountants	3	3	0		
Commissions: Collector	£20	14	2		
Bank	0	6	11		
Wages, and gratuities £1	40	0	0		
By rent, office expenses, sundries, etc.:			164	4	1
Rent, Michaclmas 1867 to Christmas 1868	162	10	0		
Office expenses, sundries	6	7	6		
Postages: General	£29	9	8		
Review	24	4	3		
Stationery	11	14	6		
House, miscellaneous accounts	48	3	2		
London Library subscription	3	0	0		
By subscription twice received, repaid; viz.,			285	9	1
April 6th					
By balances at bankers	122	14	5		
Cheque returned for alteration	2	2	0		
In hand	2	3	4		
			126	19	9
			£1091	9	5

ANNUAL MEETING.

JANUARY 18TH, 1870.

JOHN BEDDOE, ESQ., M.D., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Treasurer submitted a Statement of Accounts, and read the following Report of Income and Expenditure for 1869. (See p. lxxiv.)

On the motion of Mr. ROBERT DES RUFFIERES, seconded by Mr. KAINES, the Report of the Auditors was adopted unanimously.

The Report of Council for 1869 was then read as follows.

Report of the Council of the Anthropological Society of London for the year 1869.

1. *Dr. Hunt.*—The Council have already stated by circular that it would have been scarcely respectful to the memory of the founder of the Anthropological Society of London to allow the year in which his unexpected death has occurred to close without any official notice of such an important and melancholy event. Accordingly they announced, with the deepest regret, that Dr. James Hunt, who was born in 1833, and founded the Anthropological Society of London in Jan. 1863, died Aug. 22nd, 1869, aged 36. Dr. Beddoe has prepared a biography of Dr. Hunt, and will read it to the meeting this day.

2. *Meetings.*—During the past year 1869, the seventh of the Society's existence, there have been fifteen, at which the following papers were read :

Dr. C. Carter Blake, F.G.S.—On a Skull from the Chincha Islands.

Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., F.L.S.—On the Preparation and Uses of Poisons and Poisoned Weapons employed by Savage Races. On Flint Arrow-Heads from Lake Erie and Northern California.

Rev. J. C. Atkinson.—On Cleveland Gravehills.

Edward Peacock, Esq., F.S.A.—On Barrows at Cleatham.

J. W. Flower, Esq., F.G.S.—On a Kjökkenmödden in the Island of Herm.

John Beddoe, Esq., M.D., Pres. A.S.L.—On the Physical Characteristics of the People of Brittany. On the Stature and Bulk of Man in the British Islands.

Dr. R. S. Charnock, F.S.A.—On Locmariaker. On the Peoples of Transylvania.

A. L. Lewis, Esq.—On Locmariaker.

Dr. James Hunt, F.S.A.—On Ancient Megalithic Structures at Carnac, Brittany.

F. Hovea den, Esq.—Man an indestructible Atom.

L. Owen Pike, Esq., M.A.—On the alleged influence of Race on Religion. On the Methods of Anthropological Research.

J. S. Holden, Esq., M.D.—On a Calvaria from Glenarm, co. Antrim.

W. Bellaert, Esq., F.R.G.S.—On a Skull from Chimborazo. On the Hair of Canelos.

Dr. Davey, F.R.S.—On the Character of the Negro, chiefly in relation to industrial habits.

Lieutenant Eardley Wilmot and Dr. Beigel.—On the Hair of the Hovas of Madagascar.

Hodder M. Westropp, Esq., F.S.A.—On the Mythic Age.

P. Beveridge, Esq.—On Aboriginal Ovens of the Australians.

J. Park Harrison, Esq.—Flint Implements, etc., found at Arica, Peru. On Easter Island.

George Harris, Esq., F.S.A.—On the Distinctions, Mental and Moral, occasioned by Difference in Sex.

- J. M'Grigor Allan, Esq.—On the Real Difference in the Minds of Men and Women.
 J. Gould Avery, Esq.—Civilisation, with especial reference to the so-called Celtic Inhabitants of Ireland.
 F. G. H. Price and Mr. Charles Hamilton.—On the Customs and Habits of the Kafra.
 John Shortt, Esq., M.D.—Description of a series of Skulls from India.
 Dr. J. S. Cassimati.—Hints on the Noömetre.
 Dr. G. W. Leitner.—On the Shiná People, and on his Linguistic Discoveries in the Shiná country, comprising the Chilasis, Ghilghitis, Astoris, Daraylis, and Goris; in *Khajuná*, the language of Hunza; and in *Nagyir* and *Kalashá*, the language of East Kafirstan.
 C. Staniland Wake, Esq.—On the Race Elements of the Peoples of Madagascar.

3. *Elections.*—

Fellows: Forty.

Honorary Fellow: M. le Baron d'Omalius d'Halloy, Ciney, Belgique, has been elected an Honorary Fellow, in the room of P. Carus, of Dresden, deceased.

Corresponding Members: Professor Ernest Hailier, Jena; Dr. A. Weisbach, of Constantinople; Dr. C. Swaving, of Batavia, Java; Dr. August Hirsch, of Berlin.

Local Secretaries: Jamaica, Charles Gilman, Esq.; Island of Cyprus, Dr. Euclide; Sonora, Mexico, Frank W. Breach, Esq.; Toulouse, France, M. Emile de Cartailhac; Trebizonde, Turkey in Asia, J. W. Peebles, Esq.

4. *Resignations.*—58 Fellows.

5. *Deaths.*—The Council have to announce the loss of six Fellows by death, besides Dr. Hunt; viz.:

Messrs. F. F. Meadows, H. C. Bagnall, Robert Dyce, and F. R. Pinchis; and Dr. Fk. Snaith.

6. *Library.*—Contributions have been received from the following persons and public bodies:

R. B. Foote, Esq., F.G.S.; W. Pinkerton, Esq., F.S.A.; Dr. Michael Sars; J. G. Macvicar, D.D.; M. L. Lartet; Professor Rupert Jones, F.G.S.; Thos. Hunt, Esq.; Dr. S. Ruge; J. M. Winn, M.D.; J. W. Kaye, Esq.; T. Bendyshe, Esq.; H. Beigel, M.D.; Dr. Carter Blake; Lloyd P. Smith, Esq.; Dr. Pruner Bey; Scott Surtees, Esq.; Captain R. F. Burton; Dr. Barnard Davis; T. Squire Barrett, Esq.; Dr. Garbiglietti; Dr. G. W. Leitner; F. J. Jeffery; Henry Prigg, jun., Esq.; F. G. H. Price, Esq.; Dr. A. Weisbach; the Secretary of State for India; Dr. F. Pommerol; M. A. Quetelet; Dr. Langdon Down; W. C. Dendy, Esq.; Dr. Paul Broca; George Tate, Esq.; J. Bonomi, Esq.; M. le Comte Sage Strogonoff; Henry Woodward, Esq.; Sir Duncan Gibb, Bart.; Colonel A. Lane Fox; A. L. Lewis, Esq.; J. W. Jackson, Esq.; J. Fraser; Dr. Delgado Jugo; Dr. James Hunt; Dr. F. Müller; Professor W. Macdonald; J. F. Collingwood, Esq.; Dr. T. Ryan Tenison; Dr. A. Conderau; Professor Steenstrup; Dr. A. Bastian; R. Hartman, Esq.; Ed. Jarvis, M.D.; Professor A. Ecker; Captain Bedford Pim; Dr. Seemann; John Stuart, Esq., LL.D.; James Bonwick, Esq.; M. le Baron d'Omalius d'Halloy; Dr. Burmeister; Luc de Roussillon; the Canadian Institute; the Editor of the *Medical Press and Circular*; the Royal Society; the Royal University of Christiania; the Royal Academy of Sciences of Vienna; the Royal Academy of Dresden; Geolo. and Poly. Society of West Riding; Imperial Society of Moscow; Royal Institute of Palermo; Anthropological Society of Paris; Ethnographical Society of Paris; Asiatic Society of Bengal; Phil. and Nat. Hist. Society of Bengal; Royal United Service Institution; Royal Geographical Society; Geologists' Association; Ethnological Society; Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; United States Medical Department; Geological Society of Glasgow; Royal Society of Tasmania; Royal Society of Northern

Antiquaries; Royal Institution of Cornwall; Manx Society; the Editor of *Scientific Opinion*; the Editor of *Nature*; Royal Geological Society of Ireland; Cotteswold Nat. Field Club; Smithsonian Institute; Boston Society of Nat. Hist.; Essex Institute; Harvard College; Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Academy of Nat. Sci., Philadelphia; Amsterdam Academy of Science; Editor of the *American Eclectic Review*.

7. *Museum*.—The following have contributed presents, which have been duly acknowledged in the *Journal*.

Dr. James Hunt, F.S.A.; Tom Craster, Esq.; W. Latta, Esq.; R. B. N. Walker, Esq.; Mrs. Burton; Dr. P. M. Duncan, F.R.S.; J. S. Wilson, Esq.; A. L. Lewis, Esq.; Professor Kopernicky; Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., F.L.S.; Captain R. F. Burton.

8. *Publications*.—*Memoirs*: The third volume of the *Memoirs*, bound, price 25s., containing over 550 pages, and, amongst other papers, a very valuable one by Dr. Beddoe, "On the Stature and Bulk of Man in the British Islands," is now ready for delivery, and will be sent, post free, to all members on the Roll of the Society for 1870.

Anthropological Review: The executors of the late Dr. Hunt have undertaken to bring out the next two numbers of the *Anthropological Review*, as usual. The January number will shortly appear. The April number will include the biography of Dr. Hunt before mentioned.

Journal: The Council have under their consideration several plans for the future conduct of the Society's *Journal* and its other publications, of which due notice will be sent to the fellows.

Finances.—The income of the Society, exclusive of the balance carried over, has during the past year been £964 9s. 8d. The whole debt of the Society amounted on the 31st December, 1869, to £834 8s. 11d.

The Society has received from the sale of its publications during the year 1869, £58 16s. 2d. Each publication continues to have a small but steady sale, and the value of the stock in hand, exclusive of the Third Volume of *Memoirs*, estimated considerably below trade price, reaches £700.

The financial position of the Society is therefore sound; and notwithstanding the great, and in many ways irreparable loss which we have suffered, there is no reason to doubt the complete success of our Society, if the members will remain true to the science, and endeavour by enlisting fresh adherents, each to the best of his ability, and above all by the composition of scientific papers, to promote the cause and science of anthropology.

The Chairman then appointed Sir Duncan Gibb and Mr. Robert des Ruffières to act as scrutineers of the ballot which he declared to be open.

Mr. RANSOM moved, and Mr. J. STIRLING seconded the adoption of the Report.

Discussion having been invited, the following fellows of the Society took part in the same. Mr. Brabrook, Rev. Dunbar Heath, Dr. Beigel, Colonel Lane Fox, Mr. Hovenden, Mr. Walter Dendy and Mr. Avery.

The question was then put, and the Report was unanimously adopted.

The President delivered the Annual Address, as follows :

You can hardly fail to be reminded, when I rise to deliver the annual presidential address, of the several addresses of the kind previously delivered from this chair, all of which, except one for which we were indebted to our learned treasurer, Mr. Heath, were among the many benefits this Society owed to our departed friend, Dr. Hunt.

My predecessors have always given either a retrospective view of the achievements, or a prospective one of the duties and future action of the Society. It would be more pleasing to me to look forward to the future which is dawning on us. Our debt is very considerably lightened ; we have successfully weathered the trials of the year ; a certain number of members have left us, but some of these were little more than nominally members, while the residue may, we hope, be considered as tried and staunch supporters ; and, moreover, new members are continually joining our ranks. We have a volume of Memoirs to present to our fellows, containing some valuable papers ; and the Council have under consideration plans for effecting further improvements in the *Journal of the Society*, and thus keeping its readers fully abreast of the progress of our science abroad as well as at home. We have reason to expect valuable contributions from some of our local secretaries and foreign correspondents. Individually, I hope to have interesting matter for you from our friend Dr. Leitner, and from correspondents in South and East Africa.

But when we look back on the history of 1869, one black cloud overspreads and blots the retrospect.

It is not that the history of the year is in other points unsatisfactory. As I have already said, the debt of the Society has been very considerably diminished, while its property in the museum and library has continually been increasing. You have listened at our meetings to a number of papers containing a fair amount of original work or of speculative investigation, in various departments of anthropology ; and these meetings have been well, and in some instances very fully, attended.

What I may be allowed to call the ill-treatment of our science and its cultivators at the Exeter meeting of the British Association, apart from certain melancholy associations inseparably connected with it, is not, I think, a subject for regret ; for the injustice and impolicy of the course pursued by some of our opponents was so manifest as to provoke a decided reaction, and to add considerably to the probability that anthropology will obtain a fair recognition at the coming Liverpool gathering. Moreover, at a meeting convened by me at Exeter, with the advice and assistance of Dr. Hunt, and with a view to the furtherance of our efforts for such recognition, some of the most distinguished members of the Ethnological Society attended and made common cause with us ; all differences of opinion as to words and names being sunk for the time, and in relation to that important object.

Other events have occurred since that time, of good augury for our science, or for our society, or for both, and all tending strongly to confirm us in our belief, that we enjoy the best and most suitable name for a society with ends and aims such as ours. In the first place, a local Anthropological Society has been formed at Liverpool, and affiliated to our own. It counts very good names among its officers and active adherents, and bids fair to flourish and do good work. For the study of descriptive anthropology, I need hardly say that Liverpool affords as good a field as London itself, or perhaps even a better one in some respects. In Italy, at the metropolitan university of Florence, a chair of anthropology has been constituted, to be filled by Professor Mantegazza. And at Berlin an Anthropological Society has commenced what is likely to be a distinguished career, under the presidency of Professor Virchow, a man who touches nothing, from politics to pathology, which he does not adorn.

For this Society, however, the most important event of the year was a great misfortune, the premature and almost sudden death of our founder, colleague and friend, Dr. James Hunt, which took place at his residence, Ore House, near Hastings, on August the 29th, 1869, at the early age of thirty-six.

Dr. Hunt was born at Swanage in Dorset, in which county his family had been settled for many generations. His father, Mr. Thomas Hunt, while a student in the University of Cambridge, had had his attention attracted, by the infirmity of a fellow-collegian, to the subject of impediments in speech. He was a man of an original and inventive turn of mind, with considerable energy of character; and he devoted himself so zealously to the investigation of the nature of these impediments, and the means of removing them, that he became the most eminent authority, and the most successful practitioner in that way, in the United Kingdom. Mr. Hunt was not a member of the medical profession; but he was anxious that his son should bring to the further investigation and development of his system the advantages which a thorough medical education could give; and accordingly James Hunt entered on a regular course of medical study. He ultimately adopted as a profession the speciality of his father, abandoning the further prosecution of medicine as an art; but these early studies probably awakened in him the taste for anthropological investigation, and certainly gave him conspicuous advantages in its pursuit in after years.

In the study of the vocation he had chosen, he displayed the zeal and energy which so essentially characterised him in all his undertakings: he collected a complete library of works, English and foreign, bearing on the various branches of the subject; made numerous and valuable independent observations and improvements in treatment; and embodied the results of these studies in several published works, one of which, entitled *On Stammering and Stuttering, their Nature and Treatment*, was very much read, and is now passing through its seventh edition. Another, and a much larger and more comprehensive work, now out of print, was entitled, *A Manual of the Philosophy of Voice and Speech*. He was also the author of the

article on Stammering, which appears in a recent edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; and at the time of his death he had in progress other works on the same or allied subjects. His practical success in the cure of impediments of speech has never, I believe, been equalled or even approached.

His first literary effort had been a memoir of his father. But it was in 1854, when he had but just attained his twenty-first year, that he began to give patent evidence of the bent of his tastes and the direction of his future career, by becoming a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, and also of the Ethnological Society. He served on the council of the former for several years, became its Honorary Foreign Secretary, and held that office up to the time of his death. In 1856, he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; and he usually devoted his vacation wanderings to the personal investigation of objects of archaeological interest, relative to which numerous interesting papers proceeded from his fertile pen.

I have said that as early as 1854 he joined the Ethnological Society. That Society had then been in existence about eleven years, from the time of its foundation by our much valued colleague, Dr. Richard King. It had had, in a certain sense, a predecessor in the Aborigines Protection Society, a body with mixed scientific and philanthropic objects, which had been constituted as far back as 1837. In 1842, Dr. King, perceiving that the scientific element of the society was altogether overshadowed by the philanthropic, and that a promising and rich harvest of science was being neglected, conceived the happy idea of founding an Ethnological Society, for the study of the distinguishing characteristics, physical and moral, of the varieties of mankind, and the causes of such characteristics. Towards the close of 1843 such a society was constituted, and for a series of years enjoyed an active and flourishing life.

Dr. Hunt, after his election, became a zealous and active member of the Ethnological Society. After some years, I believe in 1859, he accepted the office of Honorary Secretary. In that capacity he strove with great success to increase the strength, and re-kindle the flagging energy of the Society, which by that time had lost very much of the impetus originally communicated to it by Dr. King and his coadjutors. In recognition of the important services of Dr. Hunt, he was elected, on his resignation of the secretaryship after three years of zealous and successful service, to the well-merited distinction of an honorary fellowship.

About the same time, Dr. Hunt was also active in the geographical section of the British Association, in which he read an important paper at the Oxford meeting of 1860. He was, however, justly dissatisfied with the dislocated and inferior position held by his favourite subject in Section E of the Association. He saw, moreover, that in view of the rapid development of pre-historic archaeology, and the dawn of light shed thereby on the science of man; in view, too, of the increasing interest acquired by such questions as that of the origin and variation of species, and of the connection of anatomy and psychology, it was necessary that a society should exist in Eng-

land which should avow broader and loftier aims than those of the Ethnological. He saw, too, that the Anthropological Society of Paris, which had recognised his scientific labours and position by conferring on him the title of Foreign Associate, had on such principles achieved a brilliant and successful *débüt*. Meanwhile, the science of man in its various branches was being cultivated assiduously by eminent men, not only in France, but in Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Russia, and America; and it was Dr. Hunt's desire to furnish a means whereby the advances and acquisitions of the science in other countries should become available to its students in his own country.

Though he had succeeded in greatly advancing the interests of the Ethnological Society, and though many of its members duly appreciated the expansive views and projects of Dr. Hunt; he was not able, in consequence of the opposition of others, to remodel that society as he wished. He was thus led, in 1862, to conceive the idea of founding a new society, whose scope should, in his own words, embrace, "everything that would light on the physical or psychological history of man;" and which should accept the aid of "the geologist, archæologist, anatomist, physiologist, psychologist and philologist;" and which should also take account of the progress of anthropology in other countries, and, as a publishing society, communicate to its fellows, by translations and republications, the most important works of its foreign cultivators. He chose for the projected society the name of Anthropological, as being older, more significant and more comprehensive than that of Ethnological, and as having also been adopted, or being in process of adoption, by scientific bodies and individuals in foreign countries. And it was his hope that the new association would in the fulness of time embrace and incorporate the old one, as the word anthropology embraces and comprehends that of ethnology.

In carrying out the idea he had conceived, his sanguine energy and unceasing industry told with great effect; and in February 1863, when the first meeting of the Anthropological Society of London was held, he had already obtained an amount of success, in the numbers and scientific status of those who had given in their adhesion, which amply justified the course he had taken. In the capacity of president of the new society he delivered an introductory address on the study of anthropology, which was one of the best of his works, at once farsighted and moderate, enthusiastic and cautious.

It was at this period that Dr. Hunt set on foot the *Anthropological Review*, which was meant to be a means for diffusing miscellaneous information on anthropological subjects, and also for reporting the proceedings of the Society. This publication, however, soon crystallised itself, as it were, into its two essential elements, the *Review* proper, which was still carried on by Dr. Hunt, and the *Journal* of the Anthropological Society, which was published and issued simultaneously with the *Review*.

The subsequent history of Dr. Hunt, as a man of science, is as well known to such of my hearers as were early adherents of the Society as it is to myself. For he so thoroughly devoted himself to

the interests of the new body, to which he was bound by so many reciprocal ties, that he may be said to have lived chiefly in and for its life and prosperity.

During four years he continued to preside over it, having been three times re-elected to do so. Seeing that the Society had long been established on a firm basis, he was anxious to retire from this position; and in 1867 Captain Burton was elected to succeed him, but Dr. Hunt, as director, continued to labour for the welfare of the Society, the presidency of which he somewhat reluctantly consented to reassume in 1868. Besides many papers of less importance which appeared in the *Anthropological Review*, or in the transactions of the British Association, he produced during this period a series of annual presidential addresses, and a paper on the negro's place in nature, which attracted much attention, and long furnished a text of contention for the two extreme schools of opinion respecting the negro; moreover, he translated for the Society Carl Vogt's *Lectures on Man*. He also personally investigated the barrows, megaliths, and other prehistoric monuments of Shetland, Dorset and Bretagne, carried out an extensive series of cephalometrical observations in Norway, and communicated the results of his labours, in more or less detail, to the Society. And at the annual meetings of the British Association, he continued loyally and unweariedly to struggle to secure for his favourite science suitable and permanent recognition, obtaining various measures of satisfaction or disappointment, but remaining always confident of ultimate success.

After his retirement from his fourth presidency, a portrait testimonial was presented to his family by a number of fellows of the Society, in order to mark their sense of his great labours and deserts. During his fifth presidency occurred the *rapprochement* between the Anthropological and Ethnological Societies, which at one time seemed likely to lead to an amalgamation, to which the way had been paved by the pretty general adoption of the principles on which the former had been founded. It may suffice to remind you that on the failure of the negotiations, which occurred through no fault on Dr. Hunt's part, he loyally carried out an engagement which he had made, by resigning his office, to which Dr. Barnard Davis was elected; but at the entreaty of that gentleman and of the society generally, he consented to retain the presidency until January 1869, when he finally retired from it. His constitution had never been very robust, and during the period at which he was most actively exerting himself for the Society, he had sustained more than one serious illness. His health was rather below par in August of the past year, when the Exeter meeting of the British Association occurred, notwithstanding which, having been appointed to take charge of the interests of the Society at the meeting, he repaired to Exeter in order to fulfil that duty. The weather at the time was unusually hot, and the sun very powerful, and to that sun Dr. Hunt appears to have incautiously exposed himself, at the time when his brain was much overwrought. Acute inflammatory symptoms set in: he was at once removed to his home under the care of his friend and colleague, Dr. King; but in spite of all that could be done, he breathed his last within a week,

leaving behind him a widow and five children, and a wide circle of sorrowing friends.

A long list of honorary memberships and other distinctions, conferred on him by foreign scientific bodies, testifies to the position he held among foreign savans, a position rarely attained at so early an age. In 1855, he had become a doctor of philosophy in the University of Giessen, and in 1867, received the degree of doctor of medicine, *honoris causâ*. He was a member of the Leopoldine Academy, Dresden; of the Medical Association of Darmstadt; of the Upper Hesse Natural History Society; of the Société Parisienne d'Archéologie et d'Histoire; of the Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistorique; of the Anthropological Society of Paris; of the Sociedad Antropológica Española; of the Société des Amis de la Nature de Moscou, etc.

As a man of science, however, his chief and real monument is the Anthropological Society. Long may it endure and flourish to do honour to his memory!

As a man and as a colleague, the appreciation of his character is not difficult; and few indeed, I think, would be found, who would not agree with me in estimating as I did and do, the warmth of his heart and the singleness and unselfishness of his nature. In all he said and did for the Society he appeared to me to think solely of its interests; and when his reason was convinced he was always ready to sacrifice his feelings. Quick of thought, of feeling, and of speech, he was sometimes hurried into expressions which might have grated on the susceptibilities of others; but no one was so ready in cooler moments to make allowance for those susceptibilities, and to concede everything that was due, or even more than was due, to the merits of an antagonist. In my own official capacity, during the last few months of his life, I owed much to his kindness and consideration: his advice was always at my service, but was never forced upon me; and he was always ready to sacrifice himself and his feelings, to assist in smoothing the path of the Society and its conductors.

Mr. E. W. BRABROOK moved, and Sir DUNCAN GIBB seconded, that the thanks of the Society be given to the President for his address, and that it be printed.—Carried by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT returned thanks.

On the motion of Mr. CHARLESWORTH, the thanks of the meeting were voted to the retiring officers and Members of Council.

Mr. HARRIS moved, and Dr. CHARNOCK seconded, a vote of thanks to the Auditors, Mr. E. W. Brabrook and Mr. A. L. Lewis.—Carried unanimously.

In the absence of the Director, and on his behalf, Mr. C. STANLAND WAKE moved the following resolution:

“To alter Regulation 20, by omitting the words ‘No rule shall be altered unless two-thirds of the voters concur in the proposed change,’ and to make a Regulation 58, as follows: ‘No Regulation shall be made, altered, or rescinded except at the Annual General Meeting, and then only on the proposal of the Council, and by a majority of three-fourths of those voting.’”

No Fellow having seconded it, the Resolution was not put from the chair.

Mr. WAKE proposed, and Dr. CHARNOCK seconded, the following change in Regulation No. 4 :

"To alter Regulation 4, by omitting the words 'as well as *ex-officio* all ex-Presidents of the Anthropological Society of London.'"—Carried.

The Report of Scrutineers was brought up and read, as follows :

"*President*—John Beddoe, Esq., M.D.

"*Vice-Presidents*—H. Beigel, Esq., M.D. ; Captain R. F. Burton ; Dr. Charnock ; J. Barnard Davis, Esq., M.D., F.R.S. ; Captain Bedford Pim, R.N. ; Dr. Berthold Seemann.

"*Director*—Thos. Bendyshe, Esq., M.A.

"*Treasurer*—Rev. Dunbar I. Heath, M.A.

"*Council*—J. Gould Avery, Esq. ; J. Burford Carlill, Esq., M.D. ; S. E. Collingwood, Esq. ; Walter C. Dendy, Esq. ; George Harris, Esq. ; Jonathan Hutchinson, Esq. ; W. D. Kesteven, Esq. ; Kelburne King, Esq., M.D. ; Richard King, Esq., M.D. ; A. L. Lewis, Esq. ; St. George J. Mivart, Esq., F.R.S. ; Major S. R. I. Owen ; Edward Peacock, Esq., F.S.A. ; J. Spence Ramskill, Esq., M.D. ; C. Robert des Ruffières, Esq. ; John Thurnam, Esq., M.D. ; W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., F.R.S. ; C. Staniland Wake, Esq. ; Alfred Wiltshire, Esq., M.D. ; E. Villin, Esq.

"We find the above to have been duly elected Officers and Members of Council for the ensuing year.

(Signed)

"G. DUNCAN GIBB.

"C. ROBERT DES RUFFIÈRES."

On the motion of the President, thanks were voted to the Scrutineers, and the meeting separated.

FEBRUARY 1, 1870.

Captain BEDFORD PIM, R.N., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

New Fellows were announced ; viz., Sir Richard D. Hanson, 9, Neville Street, Onslow Gardens, S.W. ; and Samuel Nash, Esq., 44, Renshaw Street, Liverpool.

The list of presents was read as follows, and the thanks of the meeting were voted to the donors.

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From A. RAMSAY, Esq.—Supplement to the English Cyclopædia, Natural History, Parts 7 and 8.

From the AUTHOR.—The Love Poems of all Nations. By Joseph Kaines, Esq.

From Dr. C. CARTER BLAKE.—The Geological Magazine, No. 1, vol. vii.

From Dr. E. T. RYAN TENISON.—British Medical Journal, to date.

From the EDITOR.—Nature, to date.

- From the IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, Vienna.—Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philos-histor. Classe, 60 Band, Heft 1, 2, 3. Ditto, 61 Band, Heft 1. Math.-Naturw., 1868, 1 Abtheil., 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; 2 ditto, 7, 8, 9, 10. 1869, 1 ditto, 1, 2; 2 ditto, 1, 2, 3. Register der Philos-histor. Classe, Heft 6.
- From the AUTHOR.—Has the Law of Natural Selection by Survival of the fittest failed in the case of Man? By Lawson Tait, Esq., F.A.S.L.
- From the GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND.—Statistics of New Zealand for 1868.
- From the AUTHOR.—Madagascar and the Malagasy. By Lieut. S. P. Oliver.
- From Dr. G. GERLAND.—Anthropologie der Naturvölker, vol. v. Dr. Theod. Waitz.
- From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. x. Journal ditto, No. 111.
- From the AUTHOR.—The Theory of the Arts. 2 vols. By George Harris, Esq., F.S.A.
- From the AUTHOR.—Die Pfahlbauten im nördlichen Deutschland. Professor Virchow.
- From the SOCIETY.—Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, tome iii, fasc. ii.
- From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6.
- From the UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANIA.—Generalberetning fra Gaustad Sindssygeasyl for aaret 1868. Norges Officielle Statistik udgivet 1 aaret 1868, c. No. 4; ditto, c. No. 5; 1869, c. No. 5. En Anatomisk Beskrivelse af de paa Over-og Underextremiteterne forekommende Bursae Mucosae. By A. I. D. Synnestvedt and Dr. J. Voss.

Major FREDERICK MILLINGEN, F.R.G.S., then read a paper "On the Negro Slaves in Turkey."

Few are the places on the face of the earth which can exhibit a greater variety of specimens of the human race than Stambul, the capital of the Sultan. From the white Caucasian to the black Negro, all the intervening tints and complexions are to be seen within the precincts of this metropolis, which, now-a-days, is what Babel must have been at the time of its famous tower. Amongst these various races, the African stands conspicuous on account both of the tint and of the number of its members. That this people forms an important portion of the population of Stambul, is evident enough when one considers that it is scarcely possible to pass through one of the streets of that town without meeting a negro, whether male or female.

Judging from this circumstance, it might even be inferred that the negro population of Constantinople is much greater than it really is. To ascertain exactly the total of these African inhabitants is rather a difficult task, as in the last Turkish census (1864) the different members of a harem figured in the computation on a rather queer principle. The local authorities adopted, as a statistical system, the plan

of not drawing any distinction whatsoever between a wife and a servant, or between a white and a black face. For the Turks, evidently, the generic substantive "women" is enough to express the species; what is the use of drawing fictitious distinctions between them? I shall not be, however, very far from the truth in calculating this negro population at 30,000 souls, a computation which has, as starting point, the fact that the sixty thousand Mussulman houses of Stambul and the suburbs possess, on an average, one slave for each two houses.

Unlike their kinsmen who have colonised the southern portion of the great American republic, the negroes of Turkey are not natives of the country, they have all been imported from Africa at a more or less advanced period of life, between the average ages of ten and twenty-five. Central Africa, the mother country of both, is the source out of which have flown for centuries two streams of forced immigration, one pouring its contingent westward by the Niger, and the other northward by the Nile.

To two causes is to be attributed the phenomenon that human beings are inflamed by the rage of profit, so far as to attack, kidnap, and sell each other, without pity or mercy. One of these causes is internal, particular to the country from where the slaves are brought, and originates from the rivalry, feuds, internecine wars, and the cupidity of the savage inhabitants of central Africa. From these arises the supply. The other cause of slavery is external, namely, the high premium offered as a reward to any one who succeeds in getting hold of his neighbour's daughter, wife, or sister, to exchange for the highest price. This cause acts more directly on the slave question—it constitutes the demand. The causes of supply and demand are so twisted and blended together that they secure to each other mutual support; it is evident that the existence of the one implies the co-existence of the other. The wild and ferocious negro quarrels with his neighbour, pitches into him, and thinks proper to indemnify himself for his pains by seizing any one of his enemies he can get hold of. Whether at that moment he speculates on the market prices or not, is immaterial, while the result sanctions such a supposition. A point, however, which ought to be taken into account as a sort of attenuating circumstance on behalf of the negro warrior is this, that though it may be easy to preach to him the immorality of his conduct, it would not be quite as easy to persuade him that it is such. Suppose the negro brings forward a logical objection to defeat the liberal aim of the philanthropist; and says, "that's very well, my good sir, but what do you advise me to take as an equivalent to human flesh? goods: we have none, our only property is a piece of linen which takes the place of the rather too primitive fig-leaves; what are we then to take, when victorious, from our enemies? must we return from the battle-field without booty, and with our hands empty? surely not—we make our enemies slaves and sell them to those who have riches to give us instead."

This way of reasoning is of a nature to justify slavery under existing circumstances, as slavery is evidently here the inevitable conse-

quence of war; in the impossibility of putting a stop to the latter, it would be lost labour to attempt to prevent the former. The evils of war bear a just proportion to the degree of civilisation attained by the fighting parties. The history of all nations puts this theory beyond doubt; we see there that the Briton or Celt was formerly as inveterate a slave-dealer as the African is to-day. This proves, therefore, that the negro finds it profitable to catch and sell slaves, and that necessity as well as custom sanction and legitimise such a practice.

The markets from which the Negro derived his profits were two—Turkey and America; of these, one has finally withdrawn from competition, whilst in the other the demand still exists.

The influence of the market over the slave question constitutes the second cause, the external one. Demand is a paramount point in any transaction, but especially in the present case the relation between demand and supply is such, that it may be asserted, without fear of exaggeration, that it is to this demand for slaves that are to be attributed the desultory and bloody wars which are waged in central Africa. If, in some instances, a tribe may attack another for reasons unconnected with the cupidity for slaves, most frequently it is owing to this cupidity that *razzias* take place, and that the conflicts which ensue are more sanguinary and more protracted. Thus it is but just to hold the late slave-holders of America, as well as the present Mussulman slave-holders, answerable for the wars of extermination of which their thirst for human victims is the cause. It is evident that if now the customers of Cairo, Mecca, or Constantinople, were not bidding twenty or thirty pounds for a slave, the victorious Negro chief would let the vanquished go free, or, at least, would allow him to exist under a sky congenial to his nature. Having exposed the motives which stimulate the Negro races to supply the markets with their enslaved brethren, I shall now explain the motives for the demand for slaves, and the reason why African slaves are so much sought after in Turkey.

The slave-holding countries in the East are Turkey, the regency of Tunis, Morocco, and Persia; in these markets the demand for Negro slaves arises exclusively from Mussulmans, the Christians being seldom slave-holders. Amongst the Mussulmans, however, the use of having slaves is universal; with them it is just as natural to have negro slaves as it is to have cats or dogs in the house. But at the same time it must be taken into account that this great demand for Negro slaves is based upon reasons far above fashion or fancy, as slavery is inherent in the religious and social system of Mohammedanism, and is congenial to the ideas and customs of Mussulman nations. This assertion that slavery is inherent in the very system of Islamism will startle many who believe in the compatibility of that antiquated system with modern civilisation. The arguments, however, which I am going to bring forward cannot fail from establishing such a fact as an axiom, putting it thus beyond the pale of controversy. I will therefore prove that slavery is inherent in the religious system; inherent in the social system; and, also, congenial to the ideas and customs of Mohammedan nations.

One of the earthly rewards which the Koran holds out to the victorious Moslem is that of reducing to bondage his foe, and of disposing of him as he chuses; his soul excepted, everything belongs to the conqueror, even his dead body. The religious and political system of Mussulmanism being based on the principle of perpetual war, *Djihad*, enticements for the present and for the future life constitute an essential part of the system, and the right of possessing slaves is one amongst them.

This right is of course transferable, as any other title to property is; therefore the dealer who has made the acquisition of a slave from the original proprietor, the Negro conqueror, or the Arab kidnapper, commits, legally, his right to any customer (a Mussulman of course) who may bid the highest price. According to the Koranic law, such is the hold of the master over the slave that no earthly power is allowed to interfere between them; the master is answerable only to the Almighty for the manner in which he treats his slave. This unlimited power exerted over the slave is often the cause that masters take with impunity the lives of their slaves. The authorities, in such cases, either ignore or feign to ignore the event, because, legally, they have no right to interfere. According to the Koran, the only persons who may legally claim blood for blood in criminal cases are, either the nearest relations of the deceased, or (in case of a slave) his master. Now, in an instance of this sort, it is not likely that a master should present himself, asking from the tribunal justice for the blood of the slave he has himself slain. The Mussulmans, as a mass, are very tenacious of this right of holding slaves, and they will not allow that an infidel can indulge in such a luxury. As for European philanthropists, who try to put a stop to such a practice, they heartily wish them at the world's end.

Having briefly explained the theory of slavery as it is established by the Koran and understood by its followers, I will now come to the second point, and show how slavery is a social necessity amongst Mussulmans; to be convinced of this, one must bear in mind that in Mohammed's system, religious tenets and social laws are twisted and impasted together, forming, of the whole concern, a thorough gordian knot. It is on account of these difficulties, of a technical as well as of a practical nature, that the action of modern ideas always meets in the Mussulman element with an inert mass which never yields to persuasion, but only recoils before pressure. And what other explanation can be given of the great obstacles Sir Samuel Baker avows to have met with in the execution of his scheme for the suppression of slavery?

According to Lord Houghton's statement, made before the Royal Geographical Society, "the Egyptians did not seem to be disposed to support any such undertaking of Sir Samuel Baker's as the suppression of slavery, for the very simple reason that it is through the slave trade that they obtain a constant supply of domestics for their households." The discovery is a good one; but if this is so far true for the Egyptians, it is the same for the Turks, the Persians, and all other nations who live under the same system. Yes, this avowal of

Sir Samuel Baker's discloses the secret of the demand for Negro slaves: a supply of domestics is required to keep up the harems of the high and middle classes of Mussulman society, and Negritia must pour forth a constant supply of slaves. And this, because slaves are as much an essential part of the harem system, as the harem itself is of the religious and social system of Islam. The seclusion of women is for the Mussulman what one of the ten commandments is for the Christian; but how can that seclusion be enforced, if all the members of the harem are not submitted to the pressure of the same bondage? One or two women cannot, evidently, be kept tightly under lock, while their maids and attendants are free. Slavery is the natural consequence of seclusion.

The Mussulman religion once adopted, its system must be carried through; there is no alternative. If the Mussulman is to remain a Mussulman (I mean even of a medium standard, and not merely a bigoted one) he must protect the sacredness of the conjugal tie by shutting up his wife or wives in the best manner he can. Wives are, therefore, cut off from the outside world by all sorts of contrivances, amongst which is that of having slaves instead of free-born servants, who could serve as mediums to dangerous ideas and still more dangerous customs. It is evident that if the attendants of the harem were such, not only the hold of the master over them would be of little efficacy, but the outer world might become acquainted with scandals of all sorts.

To employ slaves is by far more convenient. For this end, the prudent Turk takes good care that the slave he buys should have *his eyes tied up*, a phrase which means that the first quality which a slave must possess is to be blind to the tricks and disorders of his master. Once in the harem, the white or Negro slave is submitted to the same system of seclusion as her mistress or mistresses are. A circumstance which renders the use of slaves indispensable, and forms an obstacle to the employment of free-born female attendants, is the formal injunction of the Koran to the effect that, not only the face, but the hands also, of a free-born Mussulman woman are to be concealed from strangers.* Is it possible that a servant maid could serve about the harem, day and night, thus muffled up, fearing lest the master of the house should let his eyes fall upon her face or hands? Even if the maid happened to be not very particular on this point, custom, the fear of comments, and the disapprobation of her relatives, would prevent her from violating ostensibly the laws of Mussulman religion. It is easy to understand, then, how people should object to employ girls wrapped up like so many bogies in white veils and sheets. The employment of Christian women has been thought of, as their religion would remove the inconvenience above stated, but the Mussulmans strongly object to it on grounds of self-preservation against the encroachments of the Christian element. The few Pashas who have employed Christian servant girls, adopted this course from motives of

* The Sherihat orders that the upper part of the hand is to remain concealed. As for the inside, a woman can show it; otherwise she could not even beg alms for her relief.

policy—with the object, I mean, of gaining in the eyes of Europeans.

Having so far shown that slavery is inherent in the religion and social system of Islam, it remains to be seen how slavery is congenial to the ideas and customs of Mussulman nations.

It is one of the characteristics of Orientals to lean towards despotism, whether it be actively or passively. The same annals which record the names of the despots who have crushed the East under their feet, testify to the servility of their subjects. Slavery has never had very repugnant features in the eyes of Orientals. The Turk is far from being an exception to the general rule: by instinct, in his own limited sphere, he must be either a despot, or the servant of a despot stronger than himself. Nothing can better satisfy the vanity of a Turk than to look upon himself as the master of some human being; as he contemplates two or three slaves standing silent and with folded arms before him, the Turk rises infinitely greater in his own estimation. This feature of the Turkish mind is tangible, and can be traced not only in the customs of the people but in their very idiom, common sayings, and proverbs. For instance, if, during the course of familiar conversation, a Turk wishes to say something in the shape of good omen, he will say, "*Kull kioltch shuibih ola,*" which means that the person in question may be lucky enough to become the master of numerous slaves. From the cradle, vaticinations of this sort are constantly made by mothers and nurses to their babies, while singing them to sleep; one of those verses ends in this way, "*Kull alaik hep bundah,*" the meaning of which is, "Male slaves, female slaves, all will belong to him." Another remarkable thing of this sort is, that the phrase, "your servant," *votre serviteur*, is never employed by the Turks, but "your slave," "the most abject of your slaves," etc. In all such phrases, the word slave is employed instead of servant. On the strength of such evidences, I do not hesitate to assert that the slave holding passion has its roots in the very heart of the Turks, and that it is congenial to them as well as to the other Mussulman nations.

I must not omit to add here that the demand for slaves is founded also on pecuniary advantages; that the negro female slave is a lucrative article is proved by the following figures. Fifteen purses, say £75, is the maximum price of a strong and healthy negro, provided she is a good cook. Now, as it is difficult to find a cook amongst free-women under £15 per annum, an easy calculation will show that in the fifth year the negro slave will have redeemed her purchase money. That is surely a good investment in which the capital is doubled within ten years.

After having exposed the causes to which the supply and demand for slaves is to be attributed, I will now undertake to describe the manner in which slavery is carried on in Turkey, and show what lot attends the slaves. Reduced to the condition of slaves, the negro captives leave their country either following the course of the Nile, crammed twenty or thirty together in a boat, or they traverse, half on foot, half on camel's back, the wastes separating Central Africa from the countries bordering the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

That the slaves imported into the dominions of the Sultan come from the regions neighbouring the sources of the Nile, is ascertained from the fact, that on questioning the negroes of Stamboul with reference to their native countries, they will invariably mention Kordofan, Darfur, Dangola or Abyssinia. The valley of the Nile is not, however, the only outlet of slavery, as many slaves are exported eastward to the market places of Arabia, while numbers cross the great Sarah and reach Tripoli of Barbary, and the frontiers of Tunis and Morocco. Living stock requires a greater number of entrepôts than goods in general do ; so, for the negro slave-trade entrepôts have been established at Gondokoro and Khartum on the Nile route, Massovah and Seakin to the east, and Fezan on the Sarah route. From these entrepôts the human merchandise is packed off to the chief emporiums at Cairo, Alexandria, Constantinople, Smyrna, Beyruth, Jeddah, Mecca and Medineh.

From the very outset on leaving their native land begins the career of toil and privations which is allotted to the poor slaves ; a thin garment covers their nakedness, and a white woollen blanket renders to them the services of cloak, quilt and mattress. Without any regard for either Mussulman decency or Christian philanthropy, men, women, and children are thrown promiscuously by their dealers into a boat or within the precinct of a filthy eastern *khan* (inn), where dry bread and soup every twenty-four hours is given them, so as to preserve them alive for the market place. It must be known that ill-treatment is a part of the craft of slave-dealers ; by this method the slave is sure to look up to the first customer as a deliverer and a benefactor, and will therefore show no great dislike at being sold.

The greatest part of the negro slaves imported into Turkey are females, and this for the reasons above stated, that the demand is exclusively for domestics serving in the harem. In Arabia, however, the case differs, as the inhabitants there do not seem to object to have African women as wives and odalisks. This practice has been carried to such an extent that, according to some travellers, its effects have been highly injurious to the purity of the Arabian blood.

The demand for negro men or lads is very slack in the large towns, but in the country they are sometimes required to watch and superintend workmen in the field. Eunuchs form, however, an exception, they being highly thought of ; the Sultan of Turkey, the Sultan of Morocco, the Khedive of Egypt, all of them possess a staff composed of several hundreds of eunuchs, who are expected to fulfil the duties of guardian angels of the harem. The grantees of those different courts also employ these wretched beings with just as much ostentation as a European aristocrat prides himself on his *chasseur's* feather cap. In the east, besides, the eunuchs are considered indispensable mediums between the harem and the outer world.

The barbarous operation to which are submitted these unhappy creatures does not take place at Cairo or Constantinople : the negro lads of fifteen or sixteen are mutilated while stopping at the entrepôts, at Gondokoro, Khartum, etc. It seems that only one out of three survives the operation. The pitiless slave-dealer, proof against all

feeling, calculates only that he must sell the stock he has in hand, with mutilation or not, at the best price it can fetch.

The eunuchs are, however, the most favoured among the negro slaves, their career being relatively a happier one. Owing probably to their neutral standing, they are on a footing of intimacy with both sexes. In the imperial household they enjoy influence and power, the Kizlar agasi, the chief eunuch, holding in the state an equal rank with the Grand Vezir, the Premier.

Let us now see what befalls the generality of negro slaves when they once make their *début* on the market-place. Some twenty years ago on their arrival at Constantinople, the slaves used to be stored up within the precincts of an imperial slave market, as at that period the slave-dealers were patentee-merchants. Such a scandal could not, however, be patronised any longer, and the Turks have continued the trade in an underhand way. Non-official markets were then opened at Sultan-Mehemet, at Tophaneh, and in some of the cafés and shops of Stambul. One of these places is opposite the mosque of Suleimanieh in the bazar named Teriaki-tcharshisi, the third shop to the left, looking westward, if my memory does not fail me. In these markets slaves are sold daily, the hours of brisk business being from eight to twelve a.m., Turkish time. Up to A.D. 1869, this state of things was in existence. The thirty or forty girls that come on the market at the same period, all find customers quickly enough: the Abyssinians on account of their good looks are the first to be disposed of; they are taken as upper servants in the harems of those whose limited means forbid them to indulge in a thorough-bred Circassian. The Abyssinians are also taken as economical odalisks by the lower class of amateurs. The genuine negro girls with flat noses and thick lips are doomed to the kitchen and the rough work of the house.

On being raised from the market the new master sends the slave to the bath, and gives her a clean set of linen and a calicot suit of clothes. If the master happens to be a good-hearted man, the slave has a chance of being properly fed and clad; besides this she may obtain two or three shillings a month pocket money. On these terms she may go on for years till her frame gives way. There are cases in which negro slaves become old servants, loved and considered by their masters, and pass thus happily their old age. It happens sometimes also that slaves are freed by the master, and are established in life by marrying some old servant of the house; such cases are not, however, frequently met with.

As a rule, the lot attending these creatures is sad. They pass through the hands of ten or twenty masters, who make them lead the life of cab-horses, beat them at intervals, and at last sell them. Such treatment irritates the temper and inflames the passions of the African destitute, who, driven to despair, becomes a fury, wages war against her oppressors, and ends by becoming a hater of the white species. It is not to be wondered, then, if negroes have often been known to set fire to the wooden houses of Stamboul, as being the best means of retaliation they could devise.

After having been sold and re-sold over and over again, the negro

slave gets at last in a condition to be not even worth feeding; then she obtains her freedom, and she is let loose in the streets of Stamboul, without the means of subsistence or the power to provide for herself. Her lot then is to roam about town a cripple and a beggar. Many of them, however, knowing what is in store for them, do not wait for the arrival of the bad season, and try to provide for themselves beforehand. Either through the assistance of their kinsmen, or with the money which they have been able to save or somehow to steal, they manage to buy themselves free from the market. Alarmed at the consequences which might result from the existence in the capital of numbers of freed negroes, destitute of everything, the Turkish Government formed of these fellows a regiment some six or eight hundred strong. The special duty of these men is that of storing into the arsenal the timber which comes to Constantinople in rafts from the Black Sea. Two queer sorts of trade practised by freed negro-males are those of sorcerers and of chemical confectioners. The sorcerers manage to get a good living by working on the credulity of a superstitious population. They employ sacred fumigations and beverages, and distribute talismans (*nuskhas*) good for all evils. The chemical confectioners go about the streets selling a miraculous jam, which is highly patronised by the impotent proprietors of harems.

One of the peculiar features of the emigration of Negro slaves into Turkey is the fact that, though many of them marry among their kinsmen, and also with the whites, their progeny becomes extinct in the first or second generation. A descent in the third degree from pure Negro race, or from mixed lineage, is scarcely ever to be met with. The following statistics, the result of my personal observations, will serve to illustrate this statement.

CROSSED DESCENT.

Arab-Aisheh.....	First descent.....	Second, none.
Colonel Arab Seid Bey	First descent.....	Second, none.
Major Ali Bey	First descent.....	Second, none.
General Mehemet Pasha	First descent.....	Second.
Mustapha	First descent.....	Second.
Atijeh	First descent.....	Second, none.

NEGRO DESCENT.

Hadji Abdullah	Six wives.....	First, none.
Fathmah-gadun.....	Three husbands.....	First, none.
Kanedji Mustapha.....	One wife	First, none.
Djever	One wife	First.

It must be remarked that, in many cases, the offspring, whether of first, second, or third descent, die while in infancy, the race becoming thus extinct. The negro Hadji Abdullah offers a most curious illustration of this phenomenon. This old fellow was an athlete in strength and size; but of the twenty and so many children which he had from his various wives, not one outlived the period of infancy.

The sterility of the Negro race in Turkey is due to the following causes: 1. The climate. 2. The condition to which they are reduced, and mode of life; these are enervating, demoralising, and proper

to destroy the germs of reproduction. 3rd. That when negroes are in a position to marry, they are generally old and exhausted. If we put aside the testimony of statistic computations, evidence of the complete destruction of the negro stock which has been imported into Turkey during the last four hundred years, is not wanting. Admitting that during that period every generation of believers has had for its own use 100,000 negro slaves, nearly a million and a half of Africans has been pouring like an ever flowing stream into the midst of the Mussulman population. Where are now-a-days to be found the traces of this alien race? Do the negroes form any separate settlement or population, as those in the southern states of America? Or have they been amalgamated and absorbed? No, they have been consumed and devoured, and such would inevitably be the fate of many other millions besides these. Voluptuousness and egotism are monsters ever eager after victims.

On comparing the lot which awaits the negro slaves in the east with the relatively happier condition of their kinsmen in America, one is astonished in seeing that slavery has produced so totally different results. Two different passions have been the cause of the adoption of slavery; the idleness and profligacy of the Mussulman in the one case, and the money-making mania of the Anglo-American in the other. But this difference which exists in the causes of the adoption of slavery, has also brought about different results; and while the Turkish negro turned into a tool proper to support the luxurious life of his master is doomed to perish, the American negro being made an agent of cultivation and industry, prospers, and his progeny multiplies.

Under the pressure of a common bondage the negroes of Stamboul have been naturally led to find protection by some sort of aggregation; they have thus organised a brotherhood, which ought rather to be styled *sisterhood*. This brotherhood is not established on the system of centralisation, on the contrary, it consists of a number of lodges placed under the authority of so many chiefs. The chief of a lodge is called *Col-bashi* (chief of the band): the *Col-bashi* is elected by the members constituting the lodge.

The object of the lodges is to afford protection, aid and refuge to the slaves when in want, to rescue and redeem them from the hands of their proprietors when possible, to claim and defend the rights of free negroes either from their employers or before the tribunals, and lastly, in order to provide a place for general meetings. Every member of the lodge pays a monthly contribution, besides which no one omits bringing to the central depôt what can be stolen from the white man's house. The different lodges are united by a common alliance.

The *Col-bashi* is a female invested with high authority, her abode is the lodge, and she is constantly waited upon by several of her devoted followers. She disposes of the funds as she pleases; her followers consider it an object of pride to see her dressed most gaudily, having a profusion of pearls and pieces of gold on her head and round her neck. The respect of which the *Col-bashi* is the object is remark-

able ; no negro, whether male or female, will ever talk irreverently of her, and on being summoned before her presence every one of her followers will implicitly obey. A hundred situations would be given up, and many a master would be left without dinner rather than disobey the chief.

What renders the *Col-bashi* sacred in the eyes of the negro is the spiritual character which she is believed to possess. The *Col-bashi* is said to represent a powerful spirit known under the name of *Yavrube* ; she is also said to be intimately connected with all sorts of other spirits ; moreover, the breath of the *Col-bashi* and her power in reading something from the Koran are deemed to be as good panaceas as the prescriptions of the best of physicians. Once or twice a month the whole of the lodge assembles around the *Col-bashi*, there every one appears in his smartest costume, bearer of some offering or other. Seated on the ground the congregation sing African tunes kept up with the accompaniment of the Tarabooka and of the Teff, while clouds of incense and myrrh arise within the precinct of the room. All on a sudden the *Col-bashi* attains a stage of high excitement and frenzy, becomes an incarnation of the spirit *Yavrube*, and is thus transformed into the male element. A supper puts an end to the wild ceremony ; the meal consists of an African dish called *acideh*, and of abundantly distributed sherbets and sweets.

It must be known also that the negroes in Stamboul have got their minstrels, who of course, are not so stylish as those in St. James's Hall. The Stamboul minstrels are poor old men broken to pieces by infirmities, and their evening and morning suits are rags. The way in which these poor fellows gain their livelihood is by singing and playing on the guitar their national airs. It is interesting, and at the same time touching, to see how the negro maids on catching the first notes of their African tunes are electrified, and gather around the musician like so many flies on a sugar-lump.

Having described in a summary manner the condition of the negro slaves in Turkey and through the East, something must be said in conclusion with reference to Sir Samuel Baker's expedition, which is meant to put a stop to the trade in negro slaves. It strikes me, at first sight, that a gigantic undertaking of this nature could not have been commenced with a more ill-conceived plan and with means so totally inadequate as this one has been. After what has already been said in the course of this lecture with regard to the causes of supply and the causes of demand, everyone must admit that on so extended and difficult theatre of operations, it is lost labour to attempt to put a stop to the slave trade with the five or even ten thousand men which may be expected from the Khedive.

Notwithstanding Sir Samuel Baker's earnest efforts, the negro chief will not cease from packing off his slaves to Cairo or Stamboul, nor will the Turk and the Egyptian fear to rush on the prey. What must inevitably happen is this ; the commander of the expedition, placed between two fires, supply and demand, will have the mortification of seeing his plans defeated by both. And what if the very soldiers and officers who are to execute his orders, betray him by play-

ing into the hands of those in the rear and those in the front? The surprise would be rather agreeable, but everything ought to be foreseen when dealing with Orientals. Supposing, however, that Sir Samuel's zeal is fully shared by his subordinates, even then the chances of success are few; as not five thousand, nor yet two hundred thousand men, would be sufficient to keep up a vigilant cordon in face of enemies who are everywhere and nowhere. A faint check is the result to be expected; as for the sanguine hope of extirpating the evil, it is delusion to cherish it, as neither the Egyptians nor the Turks, neither the Khedive nor the Sultan, ever thought of doing away with the state of things which suits them so well. It is only by policy in order to gain the sympathy of European nations, and particularly that of Englishmen, that Sir Samuel Baker's humanitarian scheme is ostensibly encouraged; in reality however they undermine it.

If the Sultan and the Khedive really mean what they say and intend doing away with slavery, the thing is very easy: they will have no law or firman to write, no troops to dispatch, no Samuel Baker to employ. Let them merely open wide and large the gates of their harems, let them turn out the hundreds of women and eunuchs they shut up, the whole scaffolding of slavery will then crumble down. This is the only feasible plan through which the calculations of sellers and buyers of human flesh can be effectually thwarted. Mussulman society as well as its rulers shrink, however, from sweeping measures of the sort, but they must be aware that through craft it is not possible to avoid the penalty which Providence inflicts on slave-holding nations. There is no escape between the two alternatives; Turks and Egyptians must either make an atonement by emancipating their slaves, and follow thus the example given by Russia, or they must await to be crushed as the Confederates of America and the Circassians have been, and then only the rights of humanity will be avenged.

In the discussion which ensued, the following took part:—Mr. de Meschin, Mr. A. L. Lewis, Mr. C. Staniland Wake, Dr. Seemann, Sir Richard Hanson, Dr. R. King, Mr. J. F. V. Fitzgerald, Mr. Edward Wade, Mr. Charlesworth, Dr. Ioannides, and the Chairman.

The Meeting then adjourned.

FEBRUARY 15TH, 1870.

DR. BERTHOLD SEEMANN, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

C. W. Eddy, Esq., M.A., 24, Abingdon Street, S.W., and E. Shiemann, Esq., 47, Gerrard Street, Soho, were elected Fellows.

The following presents were announced, and thanks were voted for the same :

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the AUTHOR.—*Antropologia dell' Etruria*. By Dr. G. Nicolucci.

From the ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PALERMO.—*Giornale di Scienze Naturali ed Economiche*, 1869.

From the SOCIETY.—*Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, No. 4.

From the SOCIETY.—*Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1868.

From Professor STEENSTRUP.—*Oversigt over det Kongelige danske Videnskabernes Selskabs*, Copenhagen, No. 5, 1868 ; No. 2, 1869.

From the SOCIETY.—*Proceedings of the Royal Society*, No. 186.

From Dr. E. T. RYAN TENISON.—*The British Medical Journal*, to date.

From the AUTHORS.—*Life and Sport in South-eastern Africa*. By Chas. Hamilton, Esq., and F. G. H. Price, Esq.

A paper by Mr. E. A. Welch and Dr. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., was read as follows :

An Account of the Chatham Islands, their Discovery, Inhabitants, Conquest by the Maories, and the Fate of the Aborigines.

The Chatham Islands were discovered, about the year 1792, by Lieut. Broughton, one of the expedition under the celebrated Vancouver, and consist of the Great or Chatham Island (Whare-kauri), Pitt's Island (Rangiourea), South-east Island (Rangitira), and several outlying rocks, some of which are dignified with the name of islands, but there is neither timber nor bush growing on them. The islands are situated near the forty-fourth degree of south latitude, and about 176° west of Greenwich, or about four hundred and seventy miles east of New Zealand.

At the time of the discovery of the Chatham Islands, they were inhabited by a peaceful, harmless, and inoffensive people, who were then supposed to be identical with the natives of New Zealand, or Maories. Such is what I have been informed, as I have never seen any account of the discovery, and, of course, there is no early information concerning the natives to speak of, except what is gleaned from themselves and the earliest residents among them. These people—*i.e.*, the aborigines of these islands—are called *Morioris*, a title, I believe, bestowed on them by the Maories. They appear, from the evidence of a white man named "Coffee", who lived amongst them some years before the conquest of the islands by the Maories, to have been a simple, harmless race of people, living in the most primitive style, without any fixed residence, and without huts or dwelling places, except of the most frail description—these consisting of two poles

stuck in the ground, and a cross-piece from one to the other, against which a few branches of trees were placed in a sloping position, with some flax-leaves to form a shelter. These were their only dwelling places, and were mostly at the outskirts of the bush, where the surrounding timber sufficed to break the wind, and shelter them a little from the rain. These huts were used for a day or two, as they wandered about from place to place, wherever food was most abundant.

Their only garments were flax-leaves plaited or woven into mats, and worn round the loins. They were idle in the extreme, only seeking food when pressed by hunger, and depending mostly on what was cast ashore by the sea—a stranded whale, grampus, or porpoise being an especial delicacy, as was also a seal or mass of whale blubber, which being often cast ashore was looked upon as the gift of a good spirit who supplied their wants. Having no land animals, they depended upon such means and the abundance of shell-fish for their subsistence: their food consisting almost entirely of the delicacies above enumerated, the mutton-fish, Pawa (*Haliotis*), the Pipi, a delicate white bivalve, much esteemed by Europeans, several of the Echinidae, sea crayfish, eels, and other fish, and a peculiar fish, zoophyte, or marine animal, called "Kaio" by the aborigines, but named by Europeans sea tulip. Their vegetable food consisted of the root of *Pteris esculenta*, which was generally dried in the sun and roasted; the stems of the Mamaku tree-fern were eaten in the same way, and also the pith of the Punga punga tree-fern, and the heart-leaves of the *Areca sapida*. But the most peculiar part of their vegetable diet was the fruit of the Karaka tree called Kopi. This fruit, when ripe, has very much the appearance of a small apricot, and is similar in taste, but much stronger. After the fleshy pulp is removed, there remains a stone with a thin shell, containing a kernel. This forms the edible part, and the method of its preparation is as ingenious as the South American mode of preparing cassava from the root of the *Jatropha manihot*. It is first roasted in a kopra, or oven, which is simply a hole made in the ground, in which a fire is kindled. When the fire has burnt to a mass of red coals, a quantity of stones are thrown in and allowed to get hot. These are then covered with green leaves, and the kopi nuts are thrown in; a fresh quantity of leaves are then placed on the top of them, some water poured in, and the whole is then covered up with earth and allowed to remain some time. When the nuts are uncovered they are cooked, and are ready to undergo the next process, which consists in putting them into a suitable receptacle and placing them in a running stream, where they are allowed to remain for at least three weeks, at the end of which time they are considered fit to eat. They have then a striking resemblance in odour to the spent bark usually thrown out of a tanner's yard. If these nuts should be eaten raw, they are poisonous, and cause death; and even if eaten after the first part of their preparation serious illness is a certain result. I have seen one poor fellow at Matarako, on the east side of the island, who had lost the use of his limbs entirely from paralysis caused by eating kopi nuts after they had been cooked, but prior to their being steeped in running water.

Though the Morioris are destitute of any chronological knowledge, they have a tradition of their ancestors having come to the islands in two canoes, but are totally unable to fix even approximately the date of such arrival: they cannot surmise how many generations have lived and died since that time, nor have they any means of counting days or years, or of conveying any correct idea whether an event occurred twenty years or only a week ago. They say that one of these canoes was preserved for a long time, and the other was blown out to sea; but they do not know what their form was, and have no idea of boats or canoes except their own wretched crafts, composed of the flower stalks of *Phormium tenax* made basket-like, and tied together with strips of the leaf and young karreao, or supple-jack vines. These frail rafts were filled in the lower part with kelp, or bladder wrack, and other floating sea-weeds, which gave them sufficient buoyancy to enable them to be taken a little way out to sea and on the lakes to fish; and some of the fishermen would often sit in one of these frail barks up to his knees in rotten sea-weed, as they never took out the first lot put in, but continued to heap in fresh quantities in order to keep up the floating powers of this primitive ship. Probably the want of timber suitable for the purpose prevented their making canoes of a more substantial nature, as they possessed stone axes like the New Zealanders. The operation of felling a tree was, however, a considerable undertaking, involving, according to their accounts, a month's labour; and probably this prevented their making wood rafts, which would have been infinitely more safe, and as easily propelled with the same means as they propelled their flax rafts—namely, with a paddle of wood shaped like a spade, and used at the stern. There may possibly be some truth in their tradition as to the way in which their ancestors arrived at the Chatham Islands; for a tradition of a similar nature is told by the Maories of the way in which their ancestors arrived at New Zealand from Hawaiki. Still it has been supposed by some that the Morioris were the original inhabitants of New Zealand, and were driven from that country by their Maori conquerors.

The Morioris appear to have been a cheerful, good-tempered race of people, fond of singing and telling stories, and ardent believers in spirits, both good and evil. They believed that all food was given them by a good spirit named Atua, which is the Maori word for God, though they do not appear to have believed in the existence of a God in the sense that we do. Nevertheless, they evidently entertained a belief in a future state, as, when one of their number died, it was believed that his spirit would descend into the sea and send them some large fish ashore, and after a death they usually made fires on the sea-beach, and watched anxiously, day and night, for the expected gift. Even their conquest by the Maories, their assimilation to the habits and manners of the latter, and their intercourse with Europeans, have failed to shake this belief, as, in September 1867, one of the oldest of their people died at Waikarapi, four miles from the settlement of Waitangi, and was buried near his hut, and it was believed that when his spirit descended into the sea he would send them some large fish ashore. So strong was the impression, that fires were

lighted on the beach, and they watched day and night for four days, when a large grampus was cast ashore within half a mile of the old man's whare, and a general rejoicing followed to celebrate the event. Their belief in evil spirits was, I rather think, confined to the idea that, after the death of one of their number, an evil spirit came to carry away the soul of the deceased, and, in order to prevent such an occurrence, a fire was usually lighted, round which they ranged themselves, each holding a stick, tied to which was a bunch of spear-grass (*Gingidium Dieffenbachii*), meantime chanting a monotonous song. This was supposed to keep away all evil spirits, and was an invariable occurrence on the death of one of their tribe. This ceremony has died out from amongst them now, and when one dies they usually hold a tangi or wail for the dead, in the same way as the Maories.

Their language was, or is believed to have been, a dialect of the Maori language, or one so near to it as to have become easily assimilated to it, as at the present time there is no appreciable difference between them. But it is not at all improbable that theirs was a separate language, and that the slaughter of the greater portion of them, and the slavery to which the rest were condemned, may have obliterated their language entirely, and compelled them to use the Maori tongue, as being most intelligible to their masters. The Morioris do not appear to have had any hereditary chiefs or leaders. From what I have been able to learn from them, it appears that their usual method was to elect such as were considered the most useful. Thus any one who was distinguished for stature or prowess, or was a successful bird-catcher or fisher, was usually chosen as a leader, but did not possess more than ordinary power, being simply looked upon as a leader or judge. War was an art they did not understand, and, therefore, they did not require a chief to lead them in battle. Quarrels were very rare, and generally resulted from such an occurrence as appropriating a seal, porpoise, or mass of whale blubber, or such delicacies, that were the property of another. A fight generally ensued between the two parties, in which, it is said, they used wooden clubs and spears, or their stone axes, and whoever first drew blood was considered the victor, and the affair ended. This is a pleasing contrast with their conquerors, the Maoris, who seem to be never so happy as when engaged in a war. I have never seen any weapons amongst the Morioris; nor, indeed, have any of the oldest white settlers on the islands. Probably what weapons they possessed were taken from them at their conquest, and destroyed by the destroyers of the Morioris.

Their method of disposing of the dead was peculiar, and had special reference to the avocations of the deceased. Thus, a successful fisherman would be lashed to one of the frail rafts before alluded to, a baited line put into his hand, and the boat sent to sea with its curious freight. A bird-catcher would be lashed to some tree facing a spot where he had been more than usually successful, and left there, or placed upright in the hollow of a tree. Women, and those of no particular merit as sportsmen, were generally taken to some sandhill overlooking the sea, where a hole was made, into which the body was

put doubled up, so that the chin rested on the knees, and the head was always left above the surface of the ground—a style of burial that I have not heard of being practised by any other people.

They have been thought by many people to be a tribe of Maories; but, from what has been said, it will be seen that their manners and customs differ very materially from those of the Maories in nearly everything, and, apart from this, there is a great deal of physical difference between the two races. The Morioris are shorter, stouter, and more pleasing in expression than the Maoris; they are darker in colour, have the same lank black hair, have aquiline noses, and a Jewish cast of countenance, and do not tattoo themselves. The difference between them is so marked that one Moriori may be easily picked out from a hundred, or an indefinite number of Maories. The latter people know well the difference, and know them to be a different race, speaking of them with contempt as “black fellows”. It is said that they originally practised cannibalism, but had discontinued the practice before the arrival of the Maories.

The conquest, or rather the slaughter, of the Morioris took place about the year 1835. Some authorities have stated that the expedition to the Chatham Islands was undertaken for the purpose of a raid on these islands. The true state of the case stands thus. For some years previous to the year 1835, the Ngatimutunga tribe in Taranaki were continually harassed by a powerful chief of a neighbouring tribe, named Raupahara, and were decreasing very fast, being unable to withstand the continual assaults of this powerful chief. They had recourse to a system of emigration; and a number of the tribe, under the leadership of Pomare, their chief, chartered an English brig, the *Rodney*, to convey them to Whare-kauri, the Chatham Island, they having given it that name on hearing of it from one of their countrymen who had been there, and carried a good account of it to the natives of Taranaki. Accordingly they arrived there, and landed at Wangaroa, the *Rodney* immediately setting sail after landing her passengers. Here I may mention that the Maories, after landing, began to feel that there was a considerable difference between New Zealand and Whare-kauri, and that the latter lacked many of the advantages of the former. The absence of land animals, to which they had been accustomed, made animal food a delicacy. It is probable that this was the cause of the commencement of these cannibal orgies that so nearly depopulated the islands. Certain it is that once having begun, they carried their horrid practices to such an extent as almost to exterminate the original inhabitants. The usual way in which these feasts were conducted was to select a certain number of victims, who were made to carry the wood, light the fires, and dig the Koprass in which they were to be cooked, and make all ready for the feast. They were then laid in rows on the ground, and killed by a few blows on the head with a “mere” by one of the chief men present. At this day, the remains of these cannibal feasts are to be seen in every part of the island. At Tupuangi, on the western side of the island, there are hundreds of the skeletons of these unfortunate wretches lying near the sea side, where the feasts took place.

At Okawa, on the north-east side, there are also a great many, this likewise being one of the chief scenes of their cannibal festivities. And even in the most secluded spots you frequently come upon the bones of some unfortunate victim: the larger bones broken to extract the marrow, and the skull also broken to get at the brain.

The Morioris say that, prior to the coming of the Maories, their people were as numerous as the flax-stalks, and that, notwithstanding their great number, there was never any lack of the necessaries of life, as there was scarcely a day but what some large fish or mass of whale-blubber was cast on the sea-beach, and furnished them with an unlimited supply of food; but that, after their conquest by the Maories, and the introduction by them of the potato and other vegetables, and land animals, as pigs, sheep, cattle, and other domestic animals, they have had to work for their food, and that the former supplies have gradually failed and become less every year. This method of enumerating their people is very similar to the American Indian saying, "numerous as the leaves of the forest", as indicating a number beyond their comprehension, and conveys no accurate idea of what their numbers were. However, there is no doubt that they were very numerous for the area of the islands. The number of skulls that are to be found in certain parts goes far to prove this fact; but, owing to the causes before mentioned, they have dwindled down to a very limited number, and at the present time do not exceed eighty or ninety altogether. Those who were saved from the general slaughter were held as slaves by their conquerors, and, being debarred the privilege of intermarrying, they have not increased since, and are becoming fewer every year, and in a few years may be expected to become totally extinct. During my residence on the islands, I was fortunate enough to procure a few skulls and an imperfect skeleton of the Moriori race, which I brought to England for anthropological purposes. These are now in the valuable collection of Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., and are, I believe, the only authentic ones ever brought to this country.

From what I have been able to learn, the Morioris appear to have suffered from but few diseases; the commonest being a pulmonary affection called "mare-mare", and diarrhœa, "tiko-tiko". They were also troubled with a virulent form of scabies, called "haki-haki" or "turotiti", which is a really loathsome disease, aggravated very much by the determined scratching which they persisted in to allay the intolerable itching. During my residence amongst them, I was particularly successful in the treatment of this disease; and it was a common saying with them "*Taguta kipini te Atua*," which means "Doctor all the same as God."* Since the Maories and white men have been amongst them, they have, however, been subject to other diseases, some of which, particularly the measles, have been very fatal to them,

* The mode of treatment was by an ointment of sulphur, in the making of which a solution of corrosive sublimate was stirred before it cooled, telling them to wash frequently, and keep themselves clean. At the same time, a little Plummer's pill or antimonial powder was taken internally.

as also to the Maories.* With these few exceptions, I believe the Morioris to have been a fine healthy race of people.

They have been said by some people to bear a strong resemblance to the Stewart's Island Maories; but I think this is without foundation, as is also their fancied resemblance to the generality of the Kanakas.

There are many other interesting incidents connected with these islands; but they refer only to the Maories and white settlers, and not to the aborigines, and will not, therefore, prove of any great or special interest to you.

At the present time, the islands are inhabited by as varied and motley an assemblage of people as can well be imagined. There are Morioris, Maories, Kanakas, Negroes, Chinese, Spaniards, Portuguese, Danes, Germans, English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Yankees, natives of South America, a Manilla native, a Laplander, a Russian Finn, a half-caste native of New Holland, several Maori half-castes,† and a few whose nationality it is almost impossible to determine, forming as curious a mixture of races as could possibly be got together in such a small aggregate number.

Notes on the above, by J. BARNARD DAVIS, M.D., F.R.S.—It appears to have been on the 23rd of November, 1791, that Lieut. Broughton, the companion of Vancouver, discovered the Chatham Islands. His visit was attended with fatal consequences to the natives.

There may be some doubt whether at that time—or, at least, at the place at the north at which he touched, and which he named Scaramouch Bay—they might not have had canoes; for Broughton describes their vessels as frail barks, of eight or nine feet long, two or three wide, and two deep, with flat bottoms, and constructed of wood so light that two men could easily carry one of them on their shoulders. But it is more likely that Broughton really meant to describe the frail flax-rafts of Mr. Welch, which are irregular in form, sometimes almost square, at others rounded, and about two feet deep. The dimensions of those of the latter agree with Broughton's description, and they were remarkably buoyant, as Mr. Welch observes. He also adds: "There is no timber growing on the islands large enough to make boats of. There is a total absence of conifers, and the wood is generally of a dense, heavy character. The karaka, the largest, is said to be wholly useless for any such purpose." Broughton states that each canoe could only hold two or three persons.

The forest, on landing, was free from undergrowth, yet the trees were not large. The natives saluted in the New Zealand manner by rubbing noses, "hongi". They had stone weapons, like those of the Maoris, which they concealed by wrapping them up in a mat, and lances from six to ten feet long, two of which were carved on the

* I never saw a case of syphilis or gonorrhœa among the Morioris; but have treated both in Maories.

† The half-castes were European and Maori, with one exception, that being a Maori and Moriori. These half-castes are a fine, strong, healthy people, fertile when intermarried with one another and with both Europeans and Maories, and are on the increase.

shafts. Broughton speaks of the water on the island as being of a reddish colour and of a salt taste. Fourteen natives accompanied him along the shore, but his efforts to attain to a friendly intercourse with them were unavailing. At length, a young man advanced towards him with hideous grimaces, in a threatening and ferocious manner; but was arrested by Broughton's pointing his gun at the native's head. The native party then began the attack, when the Lieutenant fired a gun, loaded with shot, at them, with a view to deter them, and thus to enable the English to regain their boat. The blow of a heavy club knocked Mr. John Stone's musket out of his hands, which he recovered, and fired at the native who struck the blow. A marine and a sailor near were also compelled to fire, from the imminent danger to which they were exposed; next the officer in the boat fired, when the natives retreated. Lieut. Broughton was much pleased to see them run away; but had the mortification afterwards to find one man dead from a bullet wound through his heart, and to hear another lamenting, in a tone like howling, from the pain of his wounds.

The English saw no appearance of dwellings. Broughton describes the natives thus. The men were of middle stature, with their limbs full and robust. Their hair and beards were black, and some wore them long. The youths had their hair tied in knots on the top of the head, and intermixed with black and white feathers. Some among them had extirpated their beards. They all have a dark brown tint, with decided features and bad teeth. Their skins showed no signs of tattooing, and they seemed very clean. For clothing, they had the skin of a bear (?) or a seal attached round the neck by a netted cord, which fell down to the hips, with the hair outwards. Others had, in place of these skins, mats made very artistically, attached in the same manner, which covered their shoulders and backs. Some were naked, with the exception of a fine netted tissue, worn as a cord round the loins. We did not observe their ears to be pierced, nor that they wore ornaments on their persons, except some who had a necklace of mother-of-pearl. Many had their lines, which were made of the same substance as their nets, passed round the body like a belt, but we did not see their hooks. We distinguished two or three old men, who, nevertheless, did not seem to be clothed with any authority. All indicated much gaiety, and our conversation frequently excited bursts of laughter among them. It is difficult to give any idea of their surprise, and of their exclamations, when we landed. They pointed with their fingers to the sun and then to us, as if to inquire whether we had come down from it."

It will be seen that Broughton not only speaks of their stone weapons, but says they were like those of the Maories of New Zealand. Those stone implements that have been brought by Mr. Welch do not seem to be of the same pattern as those of the Maories. They are made of a very hard dark stone, which has a loud clinking resonance, yet is not so hard as the jade employed by the Maories. They appear to have been of the adze kind, and bear perfect cutting edges, which are remarkable for the obtuse angle at which they are

formed. They are now only to be found in the woods, and are very scarce, iron being of universal use at the present time.

The osseous relics of Morioris brought to England by Mr. Welch consist of three calvaria, two of men and one of a girl, two lower jaws, and most of the bones of a skeleton of a woman, except those of the head, viz., twenty-four vertebræ, pelvis complete, two scapulæ, two claviculæ, two humeri, two ulnæ, two radii, twenty-four ribs, two sterna, two femora, two tibiæ, two fibulæ, two patellæ, the bones of the carpus, metacarpus, and the phalanges of the fingers, some of them in duplicate, and the bones of the tarsus, metatarsus, and the phalanges of the toes, some of these also in duplicate.

No. 1598.—Calvarium of a man aged about 35. Has been exposed to the weather; is thick, small, and rugged, with a much depressed frontal; each limb of the lambdoidal suture is remarkably complicated in its denticulations. There is a round hole, which admits the tip of the little finger, through the anterior wall of the left superior maxillary into the antrum of that side. This orifice is quite regular, has its edges smooth, and no doubt existed in life. It is most likely the result of some serious injury. The teeth present a very unusual appearance of detrition. The third molars are absent, and seem to have been lost in early life; the two others are present on both sides, but are worn into the dentine. From the anterior edge of the first true molar on each side, the teeth before this point are worn down rapidly in a plane or curved line, which descends (really as the natural position of the head ascends) to the alveoli of the middle incisors, which are wanting. It is difficult to conceive how by any use all the anterior teeth could be worn away in such a manner—*i. e.*, sloping upwards from the first molars to a point on the surface of the alveoli of the middle incisors. The only similar cases that I am aware of are in the crania of "Giggeragou," an aged Maori chief (*Thesaurus Craniorum*, No. 156, p. 316), and another large Maori skull (*ib.*, No. 809), which possess the lower jaws, exhibiting the front teeth worn in a line which ascends upwards to the median point, so as to correspond with the wearing away of the upper teeth. It may be reasonably inferred that this peculiar mode of detrition of the teeth depends upon a special kind of food indigenous to both New Zealand and to the Chatham Islands—perhaps the roots and stems of the fronds of the tree-fern. It will be recollected that Broughton mentions the bad state of the teeth of the natives. Nasals are very prominent and aquiline in form.

No. 1608.—Calvarium of a man aged about 30. Is rather fuller and less rugged; still thick and bony, and has also been exposed to the weather. Exhibits a similar depression of the frontal. The sagittal suture is quite obliterated by ossification, and all the middle part of the lambdoidal nearly so. Nasals broken away. The molars and premolars are worn down into the dentine. Front teeth missing.

No. 1599.—Imperfect calvarium of a girl of about 10 years of age. This calvarium, which wants all the bones of the face, has a square opening on the left side, from the loss of a large piece of the lower posterior angle of the left parietal, no doubt the death-blow of the

child, and the absence of the sphenoid and ethmoid bones, which have been broken away to get at the brain for cannibal purposes. This calvarium was taken from one of the ovens in which the Maories cooked their victims on their invasion of the islands. It is very brachycephalic, and remarkable for the extreme width between the parietal tubers, which gives the norma verticalis a hexagonal form. The cephalic indices of these skulls are respectively—No. 1598, 74; No. 1608, 74; and No. 1599, 87. The internal capacities of the first two are expressed by 72 oz. and 76.5 oz. of sand. These are respectively equal to 87.5 and 93 cubic inches, which yield 44.2 oz. and 47.1 oz. for the weight of brain contained in each of the two skulls, the mean of which is 45.6 oz. This is very near to the average weight among male Maories, and among Oceanic races in general, of both sexes.

No. 1598A is a large heavy lower jaw, with the full complement of teeth. The wisdom teeth are not worn: hence it may be concluded that the man was not much more than 20. Still, the first molars are worn deep into the dentine, especially on the outer side; indeed, such is the case with all the teeth from the third molars forward, only not in such a great degree as the first true molars.

No. 1599A.—A smaller lower jaw of, perhaps, a woman of about the same age as No. 1598A, the teeth exhibiting exactly the same deterioration, in the same order.

No. 1610†.—Bones of an adult woman's skeleton. Some of the dimensions of these may be given; and, for comparison, I will add the lengths of the same bones in an Aïno woman (No. 1456†) and an Australian woman (No. 1261†), the former being distinguished by the letter A, the latter by B. The length of the humerus is 11.5 inches, and it presents the olecranal foramen (A, 11.3 in., B, 12 in.); of the ulna, 9.6 in. (A, 9.4 in., B, 9.6 in.); of the radius, 8.9 in. (A, 8.5 in., B, 8.9 in.); of the femur, 15.5 in. (A, 16.3 in., B, 16.3 in.); of the tibia, 12.5 in. (A, 12.7 in., B, 13.9 in.); of the fibula, 12 in. (A, 12.7 in., B, 13.1 in.). The latter measures show the unusual shortness of the lower extremities of the Moriori woman. All these long bones are not quite so robust, particularly the humerus, as the corresponding ones in the skeleton of the Aïno woman; and, likewise, they are all rather more robust, again particularly the humerus, than those of the Australian woman. The tibiae present the sabre form in some degree, or are somewhat platymeric.

It should be noticed that these bones agree in all respects with the account given by Mr. Welch of the singular mode of burial adopted by the Morioris. The skulls have been bleached by exposure to the weather; so also have the bones entering into the formation of the knee-joints, including the patellæ. These parts have not been covered when the body has been bent up and placed in the grave. The other portions of the bones are of a deeper colour, from the sandy soil with which they have been covered.

According to the ratio deduced by Professor Humphry, from twenty-five European skeletons of men and women, that a femur of 17.88 in. infers a skeleton of 65 in., or 5 ft. 5 in. in height, the stature of

this woman would have been about 56.3 in., or 4 ft. 8.3 in. Both in the robustness of the bones and in stature, all this agrees closely with what has been said respecting the natives of Chatham Island. Broughton stated that the men were of middle stature, with their limbs plump. Mr. W. Travers says that "they are much shorter, but stouter built than the New Zealanders."* Mr. Welch's testimony is, that the Morioris are shorter and stouter than the Maories. We thus arrive at decided physical differences between the two races; and, according to the evidence of Mr. Welch, there are striking moral differences also. It is a similar case to that of the Australians and Tasmanians, two races which have been so frequently confounded by superficial and prepossessed observers. In confirmation of the opinion upon this latter subject expressed in the *Thesaurus Craniorum* (p. 271), that of an accurate and unexceptional observer may be quoted. Professor Huxley, in his address to the International Congress at Norwich, in 1868, said: "You do not find that kind of man (his 'Australoid') in Van Diemen's Land, which is only one hundred and twenty miles off. It has been my fortune to visit that part of the world, and I can speak of my own knowledge that that type is not to be found there. . . . In Tasmania, the people are totally different from the Australians."

Mr. Welch affirms the hair of the Morioris to be black; in some cases curly, but in the majority straight and coarse. The colour of the skin is No. 42 or No. 43 of Broca's "Tableau Chromatique." That of the eyes No. 1 or No. 2, the albuginæ being yellow.

Thanks to the authors having been given,

Dr. CHARNOCK said Broughton, who discovered the Islands in 1791, estimated the inhabitants at 1,200. The N. Zealanders located there are said to number 800. Dieffenbach thought that in 1840 there were not more than 90 of the original inhabitants. Had the population dwindled down from 1200, or from 400? Hale (in 1846) states that his information concerning the islands was derived from a sailor at the Bay of Islands who had lived some time at the former. This sailor stated that the people had a tradition that their ancestors were from the N.E. Cape of N. Zealand, and that the date of their arrival was about 90 years previously. Such information could only have been acquired by an intimate knowledge of their language, and yet no vocabulary was found in Hale's work. The same was also wanting in the paper. Now, although there was a considerable resemblance between all the Polynesian dialects, there was not much in common between the geographical names in the Chatham Islands and those in any other part of Polynesia. There is *wai* for "water," which is found in all the Polynesian languages, and the name Pohanta, a harbour of the Isles, might be connected with the Sandwich word *puuhonua*, a "place of refuge." Most of the other names agreed with those in the northern island of N. Zealand and the Bay of Islands. Thus, in the Islands are Warekauri and Wangaroa, and other names commencing with *ware*, *wai*, *wanga*,

* *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, vol. iv, p. 354. This paper is much defaced by misprints. Pitt's Island is everywhere named "Pell's" Island.

as Wangatchi, Wangamoe, etc. In N. Zealand are bays called Waingaroa, Wangura, Wangari; rivers named Wangari and Waikare, and a lake Waikari. The N. Z. *waikare* signified "clear water," *waikeri* a river. Waitanga is the name of a bay in the Isles, and Waitangi of a place in N. Zealand, signifying "noisy water," from *wai* and *tangi*; whence probably the *tanga* or wail for the dead mentioned by the author of the paper. One of the Islands (a mere rock), Ranga Tira, would, in the New Zealand language, translate the "gentleman," whilst Rangitulah, or "the sisters", would seem to be compounded of *tuavahine*, a sister.

Mr. RALPH TATE read a description of an inscribed rock on the banks of the Iguana, a tributary of the Orinoco, in Venezuela. This rock presented an incised marking which the author considered to be more ancient than the present inhabitants of the district.

A paper by JAMES CAMPBELL, Esq., M.D., was read "On Polygamy: its Influence in determining the Sex of our Race and its Effects on the Growth of Population." The author, who had been many years resident in Siam, gave minute details of the relative proportions of female to male births in the harems of the king and other important Siamese dignitaries. The result seemed to be that the proportions of males and females born were, as the case of Monogamist marriages, entirely equal. (The paper will appear at length in the *Memoirs*).

Dr. CHARNOCK thought the gist of the paper might have been founded on a mistake. He understood the author to say that there was a general impression that polygamy in the East gave rise to an excess in female births. This supposition might have arisen through a statement in one of the Cyclopaedias—upon the authority of Montesquieu—that polygamy, in the East, was the *consequence* of the greater number of female births. The word "consequence" was frequently used in a very loose manner. The meaning here must be that polygamy was caused by the fact that in the East there were more females born than males; and this is what Montesquieu (who did not use the word "consequence") really stated. The truth of this could not be doubted, and on this account Bruce justified polygamy in the East. It was a known fact that in Japan there were born considerably more females than males; and Montesquieu states that in Bantam there were ten women to one man. This might be over-rated, but it was founded upon a statement made in a Collection of Voyages for the establishment of an East India Company. On the other hand, in the cold climates of Asia there were more males born than females, and polyandry was the consequence.

The following also took part in the discussion on the above papers, Dr. Richard King, Mr. Borwick, Dr. Carter Blake, Mr. Charlesworth, Mr. Lewis, and the Chairman.

MARCH 1ST, 1870.

DR. BEIGEL, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

New Fellows were announced, viz. :—Robert Wright, Esq., Oak House, Arlington, Sussex ; R. Harvey Hilliard, Esq., M.D., 258, Kingsland Road, N.E., and Kinsembo, West Africa.

The following presents were announced, and the thanks of the meeting were voted for the same :—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the SOCIETY.—Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, 3rd fasc. Avril à Mai, 1869.

From the SOCIETY.—Transactions of the Social Science Association, 1869.

From the AUTHORS.—Matériaux pour l'Histoire primitive et naturelle de l'Homme, 2e Série. Nos. 1, 11, and 12.—MM. Trutat et Cartailhac.

FOR THE MUSEUM.

From Dr. KOPERNICKY.—Five photographic portraits of Scoptsí.

Mr. EDWARD CHARLESWORTH exhibited some remarkable flint implements from Honduras.

Dr. CHARNOCK wished to know whether Mr. Charlesworth had any evidence of the antiquity of these stone implements. They looked rather modern.

Major FREDERICK MILLINGEN read a paper as follows :—

"The Circassian Slaves and the Sultan's Harem."

THOUGH slavery was a custom universally practised amongst white races long before the Mussulman era, yet Mussulmanism through its conquests has greatly contributed to the spreading and maintenance of such a social evil. The main cause of this, as I have already exposed in a preceding paper, is unquestionably the fact of Mohammed establishing slavery as a reward for the valour of his warriors. On reading the accounts which history gives of the various Mohammedan conquerors, we see that the spreading of their power led either to the conditional subjugation or to the captivity of the conquered races. Many of the countries in the south of Europe have for centuries been exposed to the invasions of the Moors and of the Turks, and the reminiscences of the scourge inflicted by those hordes live up to this day in the traditions of the inhabitants.

When the Ottoman power began its career of conquest, the Turkish hordes fell like a torrent over the provinces of the eastern empire, carrying everything before them, while reducing into captivity the flower of the population. The conquered Byzantin-Greeks were the first to furnish a constant supply of slaves, and swelled the yet thin masses of the victors. At that primitive period the demand for slaves was chiefly for those capable of bearing arms, for the manly Turks were not yet greedy after women and odalisks, differing thus essentially from their present degenerate descendants. With the extension

of the Turkish conquests throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, new fields were opened up for the supply of slaves, the invasion or subjugation of a new country yielding to the conquerors a fresh contingent of slaves who were merged into the mass of the followers of the Crescent. It was in this way that the wars carried on by the Turks in Hungary, Croatia, and in the hereditary states of Austria afforded them fine opportunities of recruiting their *ortas* (legions) and their harems with chosen specimens of the Hungarian, Slavonian, and German races. While these exploits were being achieved by land, the galleys and piratical vessels of the Turks spread terror all along the shores of the Mediterranean, destroying all traces of prosperity, and reducing the inhabitants into captivity. The Armenians, the Georgians, the Circassians, as well as the rest of the unbelieving nationalities of Asia, underwent a similar fate at the hands of their Mussulman aggressors.

The Turks having been driven back and a reaction set in, they sank into depravity, and slaves possessed no other value than that of vile agents of profligacy. By narrowing the Ottoman power, the limits also of the supply of slaves were naturally restricted, the conquests of Austria and Russia depriving the Turks of their European sources. Georgia and Circassia continued, however, to furnish them for a long period yet with a select stock of beauties and domestics, the former of the two countries having always been held in high repute on account of its products. *Gurgji guzeli*, the beauty of the Georgian, was highly thought of by connoisseurs; and the imperial harem, as well as those of the grandees throughout the empire, were chiefly provided with the fair ones of Georgia. The Valideh-Sultan, mother of the late Sultan, was a Georgian slave.

With the appearance of the Russian eagles on this side of the Caucasus, the supply of Georgian slaves diminished considerably; it continued, however, to be carried on through the agency of the Mussulmans of Georgian race, who inhabit the Turkish portion of Gooriel and the Adjara mountains. The Mussulman Beys of these districts are in the habit of making raids on the villages of Georgia and carrying away the inhabitants. In Gooriel, one of the most inveterate dealers in slaves was a woman, named Tintiné Khanam, mother of Hassan and Ali, two Beys of Tchuruksoo. The traffic was carried on by the sons kidnapping girls and boys and delivering them to the mother, who effected their sale by making frequent trips to Constantinople. There Tintineh was most highly connected, and intimate with the Seraglio, as well as with many of the grandees. Through her influence, she succeeded in getting one of her sons made a Pasha, as her son Ali was appointed in 1865 to the government of Keresund on the Black Sea. While the supply from Georgia was declining, the slave trade was carried on on a large scale by the Circassians. Among these mountaineers slavery is based on a totally different system from that existing amongst the blacks of Africa. Supply arises here from causes entirely different. Instead of having its source in feuds and wars, slavery in Circassia is, or rather was, produced by a peaceable process. There every chief or noble had a certain number

of domestic slaves, the offspring of whom served to supply the markets of Turkey. Slaves who happened to become involved tenants, were also packed off and sold at Constantinople. Besides these two kinds of slaves, another description existed, who may be styled volunteer slaves; that is to say, girls brought to the market and sold at their own request and desire. Many girls used to be brought also with the avowed object of giving them to suitors, settling them thus in married life; in this case the husband was required to give a moderate sum as a remuneration due to those who had taken the trouble of bringing the bride to Constantinople.

At the time when the slave trade was briskly carried on between the Circassian coast and the Turkish littoral, small skiffs used to leave on the sly the creeks and bays of Circassia, steering across to Trebizond; from this entrepot the slaves were sent to Constantinople, as well as to the branch establishments of Egypt, Tunis, Morocco, and Persia. That the Circassian girls should have had a sort of frenzy for slavery is easily explained when one considers that, in their eyes Stambul is the promised land where every one of them is to become a Sultana or the wife of a Pasha. While prospects so fascinating incite the slave to offer herself to the market, the profits offered as a reward to the slave dealer serve to give a greater impulse to the development of these transactions. Besides the high prices which he is sure to pocket on landing his merchandise, the expectation of obtaining one day the patronage and bounties of a future Sultana is also within the limits of this trade. The circumstance that in the Circassian slave trade the interest of the slave and slave dealer is combined, offers a striking contrast when compared with the relative position of the Negro slave and his dealer. In the one case the slave is moved by the hope of improving her condition; in the other, she is animated by the fear of having to undergo a life of hard labour. The eagerness with which the Circassian slaves accept serfdom, and the good luck met by some of them, has led to the belief that under such circumstances slavery is far from being a curse; it has even been looked upon as a boon and a blessing. I will demonstrate, however, that such arguments may have the merit of eccentricity, but not surely that of practical and sound reasoning.

With the subjugation of Circassia by the Russians in 1864, assurances were given to the effect that the days of the slave trade were gone by, and that a new state of things was to be inaugurated. It was asserted that henceforward slaves and slave dealers would be compelled to desist from their nefarious practices, and that a new era of civilisation was to follow the lawlessness hitherto prevailing. However, such vaticinations have not been fulfilled. Though the Russian arms have succeeded in driving slave and slave-dealers from their dens, they have failed in making better men of them. In other words, if the Circassians have lost the land of their fathers, they have nevertheless not relinquished their ancient habits of lawlessness and the taste for slave dealing. On the contrary, by immigrating to Turkey, the Circassians have found greater facilities for carrying on operations

of that nature, supply and demand being now within easy reach of each other.

It must be said that at the time when the emigration took place, the Turkish Government promulgated a decree by which slavery was abolished amongst the Circassians, all of whom were henceforward to be recognised as free-born citizens. In spite, however, of these formal orders, many of the high functionaries of the Porte despatched special emissaries to the landing places to select from amongst the emigrants the best specimens of female beauty. Such a golden opportunity for getting cheap slaves was not to be lost, and every one who could, provided himself with a good stock of human merchandise. Since then the trade has continued unabated, as the Circassians established in Rumelia and in the neighbourhood of Brussa are in the habit of forwarding their goods to the Stambul market.

The causes which foment the supply being stated, let us now turn to the causes of demand. If the causes of the demand for Negro slaves have been said to be based on the religious and social system of Islamism, so much more so are the causes which lead to the trade in white slaves. Not only is the use of the Circassian or white slaves a custom inherent in the religious and social system of Mussulman nations, but it constitutes also a state policy, a *raison d'état*, necessary for the maintenance of the reigning dynasty. Let us examine these points in a summary way. Starting from the point that the use of white slaves is inherent in the religious system, I must say that Circassian slaves are indispensable as useful agents in order to keep women in that state of inferiority to which the Koran condemns them. It is easy to understand that if a woman knew that religion and law compel her husband to stick by her she would assert her rights; but this is just what the Koran prevents by allowing the husband to get rid of his wife on the smallest pretence, and making it lawful for him to take into his harem as many substitutes as he may wish. The fear of a new comer serves admirably to keep women (I mean Turkish women) in a state of salutary subjection. It is for this reason, then, that the Circassians either as cheap wives or odalisks are so useful. A Mussulman who wishes to check-mate his wife, or who may desire to indulge in a plurality of wives, would often find difficulties in procuring them amongst his countrywomen. Here the Circassians are of use, as by paying a price for her, she becomes at the shortest notice his property. Besides this, even as wife the Circassian is preferred to the native; the despotic husband prefers to have a wife whom he can keep under complete subjection to his heart's content. The native woman has too many drawbacks about her—father, mother, brothers, etc., who may cause uneasiness to the husband.

As upper domestics in the harem, the Circassians are also indispensable for reasons already stated in my first paper, as that free-born women cannot show their hands and faces while serving the proprietor of the harem—their virtue would be compromised if face or hands were to be seen; the slave is in a quite different position, as, according to the Koran, she has no virtue of her own to protect, that being the lawful property of him who possesses her. As a part of the social

system, slavery is essential. The jealous Mussulman is above all careful that no one should in any way be connected with the inmates of the harem, let them be his wives or attendants. Besides this, Mussulmans think a great deal of buying girls in tender age, with the object of bringing them up and teaching them according to their own notions and fancies. Evidently no one can answer better these objects than a Circassian slave, who, having no one upon earth but her master, gets easily into the groove of his manners, habits, and tastes.

The demand for Circassian slaves arises also, as I have stated, from a state policy which has for object the maintenance of the reigning dynasty. According to the constitution of the Ottoman empire, the Sultan, who is the chief of the State and Vicar of Mohammed, cannot ally himself with any one of his subjects nor with any foreign nation. From where is he then to procure the wives and concubines necessary to fill his harem? With slaves belonging to himself only is he allowed to contract a sort of connection. This rule is also extended to all the princes of the blood, as they are reckoned to be eligible to the throne. The history of the Ottoman empire records only one instance in which a Sultan deviated from this law, and that was when Sultan Orkhan married Theodora, the daughter of Cantacuzène, Emperor of Byzantium. But then the Turkish dynasty was not yet established on a regular footing, and the Sultans had not assumed the title of Vicars of the Prophet. This state reason makes thus of slavery a necessity; and unless a new system is adopted, the imperial customers will always be foremost in the market for Circassian slaves.

Having exposed the causes of supply and demand, I will now describe the way in which this slave business is carried on in Constantinople, where two sets of slave dealers exist—addicted to the trade in Circassian slaves—the professional and the amateur slave dealer. The professionals are generally people of Circassian origin, who, previous to the emigration, used to remain in the quarter of Tophaneh, at that time the general emporium for slaves. Since then, these professional dealers have been scattered all about Stambul, far from the sight of European intruders.

As soon as a fresh arrival of girls takes place at the residence of one of these slave dealers, a number of brokers, generally women, are despatched to the houses of the amateur slave-dealers, who are none else than the grand ladies of the imperial palace and the high aristocracy of Constantinople—the wives of Ali Pasha, Fouad Pasha, Hussein Pasha, and of all the big and small pashas of the empire. These amateur dealers, on receiving the intelligence from the brokers, have either the slaves brought to them or drive in their carriages to the house of the professional slave dealer, and there, after examination, conclude the bargain. The grand lady who has bought the Circassian girl on speculation, takes the slave to her palace, where she is kept three or four years, so as to render her familiar with the Turkish idiom, and teach her the duties of the household; some ladies go even so far as to make the slave girl practise a little on the piano, an acquirement which serves to increase a good deal the price of the merchandise. In order to attract customers, these slave-dealing ladies employ many

dodges; one amongst them is that of driving through the streets of Stambul with their lovely slaves seated before them in the carriage; of course nothing is neglected which can contribute to show the girls to advantage, neither the most fashionable costumes nor the most transparent veils. On driving home, the lady expects to find several customers in attendance waiting to learn the price of her slaves.

This trade is thus carried on by the greatest ladies of Constantinople, many of whom have become rich through it. No speculation could be more profitable than this one. A girl of ten or twelve, bought for two hundred pounds, can be sold at the age of sixteen or seventeen for a thousand. To leave no doubt about the correctness of my statement, I insert here a table of the Circassian slaves sold by a lady of Constantinople, Atidjeh Khanum Effendi, mother of the well-known Riza Bey, formerly Ambassador of the sublime Porte at the Court of Russia, and now Ambassador at Teheran. This list contains the names of the different slaves, as well as of those who bought them, the sums paid, together with the date in which those transactions took place.

NAMES.	SUMS.	DATE.
Djemalifer, sold to Ilamih Pasha.....	1000	1859
Ainifer, sold to an Egyptian Bey.....	750	1859
Andelib, sold to Rifaat Pasha.....	650	1862
Frenkistu, sold to a Bey.....	770	1862
Dilber, sold.....	190	1866
Afitab, to Mahmud Pasha of Tunis.....	600	1866

It is well known that Behieh Khanum, the wife of the late Premier Fuad Pasha, has carried on the slave trade on a much larger scale. Though I am not in a position to give particulars about it, I can, however, corroborate this statement by the following anecdote, which is of common notoriety among the harem society of Stambul. This lady, desirous of insuring an easy and liberal sale of her slaves, had recourse to a sorcerer, a khodja, said to possess supernatural powers. The sorcerer yielded to the demand of the illustrious client, and gave her a talismanic shirt, the power of which would invariably compel the customer to be smitten with the charms of the slave who was to wear it. The result seems to have fully justified the high reputation enjoyed by the sorcerer, as, according to Behieh's avowal, every girl who has put this shirt on captivated, at first sight, her customer.

The professional dealers, as well as the amateur ones, do not limit these operations in the slave article to Constantinople and the provinces; their transactions extend as far as Egypt and Tunis. To find a customer from one of those countries is considered by them a bit of good fortune. The imperial palace is also highly thought of in a business point of view, a constant supply being necessary to recruit the ranks of the harem. A girl once bought for the imperial harem, or in order to be attached to the court of the Sultanas, can never be sold again, as it is considered below the dignity of the throne that one who has served the princes of the blood should serve common mortals. As for male slaves, they are not very much in demand now-a-days; the

only case in which Circassian boys are required is when some imperial prince or the son of a pasha requires a playmate.

In the generality of cases the lot awaiting the Circassian slaves is not as happy as might perhaps be expected. And yet how could it be otherwise, when seclusion, jealousy, and profligacy render domestic happiness an impossibility? Besides this, the Circassian woman, whether wife or concubine, is always awkwardly situated in the midst of Turkish society. Exposed as she is to the hostile feelings of the native women, she cannot well rely on the capricious and fickle disposition of her husband or master. As for the concubines, they are the natural antagonists of the wives; the war waged between them frequently is attended with serious results; many of them, worn out and emaciated, die of consumption, and cases of violent death put an end to the life of others.

I know a case of this nature; the victim was a girl named *Yildiz*, who, after having been brutally beaten, was imprisoned in a subterranean room, condemned never to see the light again. The husband tried to rescue the unfortunate creature, but nothing could appease the fury of the jealous wife.

The happiest of all are the girls who have the good luck to be admitted to the imperial *Seraglios*. In those establishments the drawback is that of being obliged to submit to a more rigorous system of seclusion; but the abundance of everything and plenty of fun and amusement are, to a certain extent, a compensation for the want of that relative freedom which "women in town" can obtain. The careers which present themselves to the Circassian slaves on entering the palace are the following: the most lucky amongst them become either wives or concubines to the Sultan or to some member of the Imperial family; those less fortunate may grow up old maids inside the Seraglio, and attain there high positions and wealth; the career which befalls, however, the greatest number of these Circassian girls is that of leaving the Seraglio after a few years and getting married to some officer in the army or civil service. Though the girls coming out of the Seraglio are considered to be desperate flirts and fast in their manners, they are sure to find people eager enough to obtain protection who will not hesitate to marry them.

A curious thing in this respect are the marriages which take place between these Seraglio girls and the eunuchs. It is possible to understand that girls might carry on a flirtation with these harmless individuals, as long as they are not able to procure for themselves better representatives of the male type, but it is beyond the power of comprehension to imagine what can induce a lovely Circassian to shut herself up with a black eunuch. What is still more singular, is the fact that young, healthy and splendid girls should have actually accepted as husbands fellows of so little material importance, whilst suitors possessing all their physical attributes were eagerly seeking for their hands!

Notwithstanding all I have said with regard to the happiness of the Circassian slaves who live in the Seraglio, the sufferings which inevitably attend slavery must make many a victim. An old Circassian

peasant presented himself one day at the gate of the palace, where there was residing the second wife of Abdul-Medjid, the late Sultan. The old man announced himself as being the father of the Sultana, and requested to be allowed to see his daughter only once before he died. "Let me not gaze upon the face of him who did not hesitate to sell me as a slave," was the answer of the daughter. Does not this show that in the Seraglio life thorns are more plentiful than roses? It is useless to seek for happiness in the midst of jealousies, intrigues, and depravity.

What I have said about the lot of the Circassian girls in the Seraglio compels me to give here a summary sketch of its organisation. On touching a subject so attractive I must warn my hearers not to expect too much; I have never been admitted into the Sultan's harem, and can only give an account of what I have been able to learn about it through my intercourse with several of the ladies of the harem and with their eunuchs.

The Sultan's harem, which is improperly called by Europeans "Seraglio," is a vast building shut up in the midst of lofty walls, and to which the Sultans give the pompous name of "The Abode of Felicity" (*Dari-seda*). Where human beings congregate, an organisation of some sort has always been found to be necessary; so the many women gathered under the Sultan's roof could not live together without being placed under a system and hierarchical order. Starting from this point, it will be easy to form an idea of what is the Seraglio and its organisation.

At the top of the female hierarchy of the harem stands conspicuously and all powerful the Valideh-Sultan, the mother of the reigning Sultan. That the mother of the Sultan, and not one of his wives, should be what we would style the Queen, is but consistent with the state of Turkish society. A Turk, who can have many wives, can have but one mother. After the *Valideh* the most important personage is the *Haznehdar-ustah*, the mistress of the treasury. This woman is the intermediate agent between the Sultan and the ladies of the harem; her influence is very great, and at the death of the mother of the Sultan she becomes her successor in the leadership of the harem. The different *Kadins*, or wives of the Sultan, come next, every one of them according to the right of seniority. Then come the *Ikbals* (favourites), having at their head the first favourite or concubine.

Now, the *Valideh-Sultan*, the *Haznehdar-ustah*, let us say four *Kadins* (wives), plus half-a-dozen concubines, in the whole twelve persons are the heads of twelve *daires* (courts) formed of their numerous attendants. These courts are formed of ten or fifteen women, some of them young, some of them more or less advanced in life, having separate and distinct duties to fulfil, as, for instance, that of treasurer, reader of the koran, secretary, giver of coffee, holder of the jug, and so on. An easy process of multiplication of these ten dignitaries by twelve will give us one hundred and twenty as the total representing the mass of this distinguished female body. But this is not all. These hundred and twenty ladies must be multiplied again by five, as five or six pupils, young slaves, are put under the direction and tutorship of each of the

ladies ; in this way, the first secretary has five under-secretaries or mates to help her in the fulfilment of her duties ; as many also as five assist the first giver of coffee when pouring the coffee in the cup of the Sultan's mother. The same system goes all the way through the different employments and degrees in the hierarchy, the total number of the women constituting these courts being close upon six hundred.

Besides these different functionaries and their mates, the Sultan's harem possesses a staff of white and negro cooks, a troupe of dancers and pantomimists, and a musical band composed of girls. All these courts and troupes form an integral part of the imperial household, and they are submitted to a sort of discipline something in the style of what is in vigour within the precincts of a convent.

Independently of these establishments, the heir to the crown, and every one of all the other sons and unmarried daughters of the late Sultan and of the present one has a little harem or court of his own, organised on the same principle, and sheltered under the same roof. As for the wives, concubines, sisters, and married daughters of the late Sultan, or of his father, they are to be deducted from this computation, for the reason that all of them keep up their establishments in separate palaces and buildings granted to them by the crown.

On studying the system on which is based the Sultan's harem, one cannot help seeing that this huge machine is a world by itself ; striving to live of its own life at the expense of the enormous sacrifices it imposes on society at large. Slavery is the only soil on which it can vegetate and prosper ; it is from slavery that it recruits itself ; without slavery it would inevitably perish. The Sultan is the pivot of the whole system of the Seraglio, as the sole object and purpose of its inmates is to live of his life and to be benefited by his radiance. The same law is applicable to the other Princes and Sultanas who are also as many planets of their respective systems. The alliance or compact between royalty and slavery is so complete that one supports the other ; this explains why the Sultan leans so much to slavery, and why slavery should cling so fast to him.

The Sultan's harem has been called, and justly so, a world by itself. It has its own slave dealers, its own customers, its own tyrants, its own victims, it has everything, production excepted, and only on that account it has recourse to the outer market for a supply of slaves. The transactions are, however, limited within the walls of the Seraglio, where the inmates are actively busy in selling each other. If the ladies in town are bartering pretty slaves in the public market, so the Sultanas and the other grand ladies of the harem reserve to themselves the monopoly of that trade, with the object of captivating the Sultan or any of the Princes of the blood. A fascinating Circassian given in present, or sold to the Sultan, at the proper time, has often been found a first-rate expedient to checkmate a rival or bring a court intrigue to maturity.

The mechanism of the harem system explained, I will now show in what way it works. To understand this, the best method is, I think, that

of following the career of a Circassian girl, from the time she sets her foot in the harem to that in which she reaches the top of the ladder, by becoming either the mistress of the treasury or one of the Sultan's wives.

Let us suppose that the Sultan's mother, or one of his wives, requires a slave to recruit the number of her attendants. Several girls are immediately procured, and amongst them the Sultana makes her choice. The girl thus selected is intrusted to the care of one of those functionaries who form the court of the Sultana; let her be the giver of coffee or the first holder of the jug. Under the tutorship and guidance of this person the newly-bought slave goes through her apprenticeship. The tutoress takes towards the girl the place of a mother, and provides her with dresses, money, jewels, and, in short, with everything necessary for her to have. The affection which naturally arises between them often lasts throughout life; and a tutoress will seldom abandon her pupil in trouble and need, even if they exchange their condition for that of married life. It is only with the consent of the Sultana, their mistress, that either the pupil or the *calfa*, tutoress, or any other slave belonging to the court, can be given away; if the pupil gets married it is her tutoress who intercedes on her behalf and obtains from the Sultan's treasury and wardrobe the necessary funds and a suitable trousseau. At the death of any of these slaves her property goes back to the Sultana, who is her legal heir.

In case, however, the Circassian girl does not get married, but follows her career at court, her rise takes place in this way. For instance, if in the secretary department, she gets to be by successive steps third, second, and first secretary, then, if a fair opportunity presents itself, she may rise to the high position of mistress of the treasury; the greatest part, however, prefer stopping at the head of their respective offices as first giver of coffee, or first etc.; and when old they follow the court to which they are attached to its last retreat within the old Seraglio.

If, however, the girl whose career we are following is lucky enough to rise to the position of a concubine or of a wife, the ascendant march is effected in this way. The Sultan happens to be paying a visit at her mother's; there his eyes fall, let us suppose, on the girl in question; some significant looks of his, or some comments about her, being at once interpreted as unequivocal signs of imperial favour, the girl rises at once to the high position of *guzdek*, a compound substantive which means "in the eye," as the Sultan is known to have her in his eye. *Ipsa facto* the girl abandons her former duties, is separated from her companions, and gets for herself an apartment in the harem. After that, she is sure to receive messages and summons to appear before her imperial lover, and climbs a degree higher by becoming an *Ikbal*, which means one of the fortunate ones. Our Circassian girl then sees herself surrounded by a court, obtains a high salary, and finds that carriages and servants are placed at her disposal. Once a concubine, the leap to become a wife is not always sure; in many cases the girls decline the honour, preferring to be married in town according to

their own choice ; in others, the people at court prevent it by having recourse to unnatural expedients. To get one of these *Ikbals* is considered a high honour by many pashas, as a wife like that is an insurance against want of employment. If the *Ikbal* is to become a wife, the thing is easily done ; she changes her apartments, has a court arranged for her on the same footing as the courts of the other wives, and there the story ends. The Sultan, as chief Imam and Vicar of Mohammed, dispenses himself from marriage ceremonies of any kind, either religious or civil. The present Sultan, Abdul-Aziz, was said to have only one wife. This report, which was circulated about Europe at the epoch of his tour, is totally untrue. Abdul-Aziz has three wives ; the first he had before he mounted the throne, the second one became his wife in commemoration of his ascension to the throne, while the third was forced upon him by his sister Adileh Sultana, as a token of reconciliation between brother and sister. The names of the three wives are—Eda-dil, Hairani-dil, and Durnev.

Many of the principal pashas in Constantinople are supposed also to have but one wife. This is literally true, but not in fact. The real thing is that their own wives are often unaware of the existence of numerous rivals carefully concealed below the surface. With the death of a pasha the mysteries are, however, revealed, as a number of *odalisks* with their babies sprout from the ground like so many mushrooms. This sad surprise has the effect, however, of soothing the grief of the wife, who soon consoles herself for the loss she has sustained by launching against the deceased a volley of imprecations.

The system on which slavery rests, and the evils which follow from it, having been described as fully as the limits of a lecture allow me to do, something must be added in conclusion with respect to the results to be expected from the suppression of slavery. It is evident that the suppression of slavery would have as a consequence the emancipation of women. The emancipation of women would bring about, however, the re-establishment in principle of the balance which in a normal state of things ought to exist between the halves constituting the social unity ; but the destruction of the undue ascendancy exerted by the male element would inevitably bring about in the east the subversion of the social and political edifice established on the basis of religion and tradition.

If official denials could do away with an evil, we ought to take for granted that slavery disappeared long ago from the Turkish dominions ; official denials cannot, unfortunately, do away with a state of things the existence of which is socially and politically a necessity. As slavery has been a powerful agent in the erection and extension of the Ottoman dominion, so it must also be an agent of destruction ; besides, slavery being intermixed to such an extent in the structure of Turkish society and state, at this advanced period of its existence a change of this nature cannot be effected without the walls crumbling down. If, however, regardless for such considerations, the Porte were determined to emancipate slaves, and to clear out the harems, letting Mohammed and his book say what they like, such a generous and noble way of acting would only hasten Turkey's last breath. The fences and

ditches which separate and protect the followers of Mohammed from contact with Christians once removed, no further resistance could be afforded, and the moral and material aggression of Christianity would soon submerge all traces of Mussulman existence.

The destructive effects which slavery has brought on the destinies of Turkey bring to the mind some useful reflections and some practical suggestions. The different streams of slavery which have constantly been swelling the masses of the Mussulman population of Turkey must be looked upon as a sort of immigration movement based on economical principles of a subverted nature. As long as the contingents of this immigration were employed by the Turks to warlike purposes, the immigrants turned out to be a paying concern; because by adding their number to the aggressive power of their newly adopted country, they had their share in augmenting the national booty and wealth. But that period once over, when these emigrants turned out to be only women and degrading agents of profligacy, then slaves and masters became one mass of corruption, unfit for war, and unfit likewise for the exercise of productive occupations. It is thus that the most fertile portion of the earth's surface has become a desert under their feet.

If the Turks of yore or those of to-day were wise, instead of buying slaves who must in the end ruin them, they would have solicited and begged in order to let into their country a stream of emigration from England or from any of the western countries of Europe. Instead of having slave dealers, they ought to have employed agents, and formed immigration societies, saying to the honest farmer and to the industrious mechanic: "Why are you undergoing privations and hardships in your own over-stocked country, where you can scarcely breathe for fear of trespassing on the rights of your neighbour? Come! come to our country; I have got here more fields than I require, more mountains and minerals than I can count; I will give you land, and you will give me labour, and the blessings of our covenant will fall on our posterity." If Turkey had acted thus, she would not be what she is—a doomed country.

Dr. CHARNOCK wished to ask the author of the paper—1. Whether the Turks had not ceased to import slaves from Circassia, and whether they were not now derived from Georgia only. 2. Whether the present Sultan possessed any harem. He thought it a pity that so well-organised an institution should be done away with. 3. Whether the Turkish law called *Kâbin*, by which a man could take unto himself a wife for a specified time, was still in vogue, and whether the author of the paper did not consider it an excellent institution.

Dr. CARTER BLAKE, referring to the marriage of eunuchs, said that there was clear evidence, both in Martial and other Roman poets, that three distinct modes of castration prevailed—one a simple laceration, one a partial removal, and the third, *podice secti usque ad umbilicum*, an entire obliteration of the parts affected.

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion on the above papers:—Mr. A. L. Lewis, M. Robert Des Ruffières, Mr. Vincent, Dr. Seemann, Mr. Avery, Mr. Charlesworth, Dr. Richard King, Dr. Ioannides, Dr. Skues, Mr. Robins, and the Chairman.

The meeting then adjourned.

MARCH 15TH, 1870.

DR. R. S. CHARNOCK, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes were read and confirmed.

The following elections were announced :—*Fellows*—Wm. Stephens Hayward, Esq., Long Wittingham, Abingdon, Berks ; P. Henderson, Esq., M.A., Vice-Consul at Benghazi, N. Africa, 1, Stafford Place, Buckingham Gate. *Local Secretary*—Dr. David Earl Burdett, Belleville, Ontario, Canada.

The list of presents was read, and thanks were voted to the donors :

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, No. 53.

From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. iv, p. 12.

From the AUTHOR.—Ancient Battlefields in the southern portion of Northumberland, by Rev. Scott F. Surtees.

From the EDITOR.—The Food Journal, No. 2.

From the EDITOR.—Nature (to date).

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. viii, part i.

From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part II, No. 4.

From M. E. LARTET.—*Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*, Part XI, by M. E. Lartet and H. Christy.

From Dr. E. S. RYAN TENISON.—The British Medical Journal, to date.

From the AUTHOR.—Comparative Longevity, by E. R. Lankester, Esq.

The following paper was read :—

On the Strange Peculiarities observed by a Religious Sect of Moscovites, called Scoptsis. By Dr. ISIDORE KOPERNICKY, Cor. Mem. A.S.L., and J. BARNARD DAVIS, M.D., F.R.S., V.P.A.S.L.

It was an opinion of the late Dr. Robert Knox that race had a determinate influence in religion. He said the Celtic race all over the world is, properly speaking, Catholic, when not Roman. The dominion of Catholicism among the Irish and French confirms this ; whilst in Wales and Cornwall, where religious enthusiasm is very prevalent, it is not episcopalianism which satisfies the desires of the population.

In a paper read by the Treasurer of this Society, the Rev. Dunbar Heath, in December 1866, something like the same idea appears to have been advocated ; but, unfortunately, the terms Aryan and Semite were introduced into it, or formed its substratum ; the former, especially, being a designation to which it is difficult to attach any definite and precise sense. It is used in connection with an hypothesis based upon philology, that, at a very remote epoch, a people who spoke a language cognate with Sanscrit invaded Europe from the east, and settled down in all parts of it, where their descendants still remain. The Rev. Dunbar Heath maintained in his memoir that Christianity, as a whole, is derived from this Aryan race, and not from a Semitic

race. It would be a very comforting doctrine if we could conclude that our religion had been derived from a race of people less superstitious, and endowed with higher powers of mind than the Hebrews. But there is probably no reason to doubt that Christianity had its foundations laid in Judea some 1900 years ago, among a Jewish people; that it did not come into Europe at any very remote antiquity, when the Aryans are imagined to have made their appearance; and as little reason is there to doubt that the wisdom of the *west* was conveyed to the east, many ages before the advent of Jesus Christ, as that Alexander had made his conquest in oriental countries and established the Bactrian kingdom. Mr. Heath's very learned arguments are of quite a different nature from those to which your attention will be invited this evening. They concern Christianity as a whole, and what it is now proposed to describe is a small sect of a particular, but well-defined race.

The name of this sect, which exists in Russia, is Scoptsis (mutilated), and in that country, and in some parts of Wallachia, where also its disciples are to be found, it is a secret sect. The reason of this will be apparent when it is known that the Scoptsis are distinguished for self-mutilation. These fanatical people base their peculiar notions upon the sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and interpret the 12th verse as an injunction to this unnatural practice.

But it is time that it should be made known to you, that the information here given concerning this strange sect, the photographs of its professors, and the anatomical preparation which exhibits the radical excision of the sexual organs of a male Scoptsi, are wholly derived from my friend Dr. I. Kopernicky, a corresponding member of this Society, an able and zealous anthropologist.

The Scoptsis form a sect of the Moscovites, or Great Russians in particular. This is the important anthropological fact revealed by the sect. The Moscovites, or Great Russians, are about 30,000,000 in number, and extend from the White Sea in the north to Koursk and Saratov in the south; from St. Petersburg in the west, to Viatka and Novgorod in the east; in truth, over a very large portion of European Russia. De Pauly calls them the *proper* Russians, and in this differs materially from Dr. Kopernicky, who designates the Ruthenians and White Russians the *true* Russians.

In order to introduce Dr. Kopernicky's description, I will give a translation of what M. de Pauly says of the Scoptsis. It should be premised that the "Raskol" is the name by which the whole body of dissidents from the Greek Church, or, to speak more correctly, the Russian Church, which is the sister of the Greek Church, but still an independent sister, and differing mainly by some external ceremonies, are called. The Raskol, therefore, has a similar meaning to our word Dissenters. The Raskol is of considerable antiquity, and these are divisions of it. The first and principal division is named Bespopovchtchina. "It is in the Bespopovchtchina that is met with the remarkable sect of Scoptsy, who voluntarily mutilate themselves by cutting off their sexual organs. The Scoptsy, in justification of their system of mutilation, build upon certain passages of the New Testa-

ment, which, wrongly understood and falsely interpreted, may, in fact, serve as a pretext for this deplorable error. They believe that paradise will be manifested on earth when the whole human race shall be found in this state of mutilation; that their apostle, under the name of Selivanov, continually wanders beyond Lake Baikal, in order one day to assemble together all the partisans of the sect, to reign upon earth, and to spread over it peace and eternal happiness. Pursued by Government as attached to an immoral sect, they seek to obtain by the influence of considerable riches of which they dispose—for in the great cities many jewellers, goldsmiths, and dealers in gold make part of this sect—a certain toleration which never extends to the new converts, who are rigorously persecuted. Although less numerous than the other sects, none is more greedy of proselytes than this, and the painful operation which formed the principal object of the doctrine is accomplished among them with remarkable expertness. At times the mutilation of the father-head of a family takes place only after the birth of a son, and this delay evidently has for its object the preservation of the property in the same family. But it often also happens that strangers fulfil the conjugal duties without the manifestation of any irritation on the part of the husband towards the wife. The belief and the divine worship of the Skoptsy breathe an ardent and exalted sentiment of hope and of resignation.* De Pauly adds, that at the present day the Government has ceased to exercise against sectaries those repressions which strengthened their obstinacy and augmented their numbers. This is quite inconsistent with what Dr. Kopernicky relates.

The name *Moscovites* is the true and proper appellation of the Great Russians. Their neighbours, the Poles, Lithuanians, and the true Russians, or Ruthenians, *i.e.* the White Russians and Little Russians, or Ukrainians, never call them otherwise. The Great Russians as a nation and as a state (*Tsarat*) were not known till the eighteenth century, save under the name of *Moscovites*. It was Peter the Great and Catharine II, who, finding that this name was objectionable and of bad odour among the European family, usurped the designation of Russians and imposed it on the nation by the force of *Ukases*. This history is truly curious, not only in a political point of view, but also in an ethnological one.

The Skoptsi is a tolerably numerous religious sect. Its peculiarities are based on the literal interpretation of the words of the Evangelist: "Expedi enim tibi ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum, quam totum corpus tuum eat in gehennam." It is better that one of thy members should perish than that thy whole body should go to hell. These miserable eunuchs, who are distinguished for much ardour in their proselytism, are severely pursued. Those among them who, especially in the reign of Nicholas I, had not succeeded in purchasing at great cost the right to practise in secret within their own country their abominable worship, were forced to emigrate into neighbouring provinces. But it was only in Wallachia and Moldavia that they were allowed to settle. They are very numerous at Jassy, at Galatz, and at Bucharest. In these cities they are nearly all coach-drivers and

* De Pauly, *Peuple de la Russie*, p. 44.

proprietors of voitures de place, or hackney carriages, and it is only at the price of fifty to one hundred ducats, with a carriage and a pair of horses, that they ordinarily gain their proselytes. They are in general very greedy, avaricious, but peaceful and sober. They dwell in communities, and inhabit distinct quarters of the towns in which they live, and practise their rites with such secrecy that it is impossible for a stranger to visit their assemblies. So secret are they that Dr. Kopernicky has found it impossible to learn where or how they inter their dead. They never even send their sick to the hospital, and it was only last year that he has had the sole occasion to dissect one of the Scoptsis, one who was found dead in the public highway, and consequently his body had to undergo a medico-legal examination. It is curious from what Dr. Kopernicky has confirmed upon this dead body, that in mutilating themselves they do not stop at the extirpation of the testicles *lege artis*, nor in their extirpation with the scrotum, but they also cut off the entire penis close to the pubes. It should be noted that the larynx of the old castrated men or eunuchs has the feminine form, as is well-known to be the case in emasculated persons in Turkey and Egypt.

(The anatomical preparation was exhibited.)

The photographs now presented to the Society are all of rich individual Scoptsis at Bucharest. They have their privileged photographer, who by chance was discovered by Dr. Kopernicky. Save the expression of their physiognomy—evidently derived from their mutilation—that peculiar mildness and want of force in their countenances, which is heightened by the particular manner in which most of them wear their hair—they are all true types of Moscovites; very different, Dr. Kopernicky adds, from the ideal ones which the Panslavic Congress of Moscow distributed in 1867. In some of them is plainly to be descried the large bony coarse skull of the Moscovite, with a long face, which has been described in the *Thesaurus Craniorum*, p. 120.

It is especially worthy of notice that the religious sects among the Moscovites seem to merit a particular attention anthropologically. First, the true Russians, *i.e.* the White Russians and the Little Russians are all orthodox of the United Greek Church, and there have never been any religious sects among them. Among the Moscovites, on the contrary, it is only the smallest party which is orthodox, and the major part is divided into different sects more or less numerous, of which there are many dozens.

From Dr. Kopernicky I have obtained much further information respecting the history of the Scoptsis. He says, this sect must have taken deep root in the manners and religious ideas of the Moscovites, since the energetic persecution of twenty years to which it was subjected in the time of Nicholas I, has not succeeded in destroying it. Even quite recently it has been said that an important focus of the sect has been discovered at Moscow. An event, which made much noise at the time in Russia, was the discovery at the commencement of last year of quite a centre of Scoptsis at Morshansk, a city of the district of the Government of Tambov.

A rich merchant of that city, named Maxime Plotitsine, being de-

nounced as chief of these sectaries, was arrested, and the domiciliary visit to his house brought to light five unsexed individuals, men and women. They found images of a certain Selivanov and of the Emperor Peter III, both of whom are adored by the Scoptsis as their *Christs*, and of a woman, Akoulina Ivanovna, still living, and honoured by them as *Notre Dame*, or the Virgin. Besides which there were discovered there enormous sums in gold and silver, which certainly constituted the central treasury of the sect. It was affirmed that the police seized 30,000,000 of roubles (£5,000,000 sterling !), which gradually, before it came into the hands of the Government, dwindled down, by means well-known in Russia, to half-a-million of roubles. These millions, accumulated and hidden in one city of the district, and confided without reserve to the discretion of a single private person, prove that the Scoptsis constitute a communist society very powerful and strong in its organisation. As to their proselytism, everything leads to the belief that they have considerable success. Thus in this affair of Morshansk there were fifty Scoptsis, men and women, arrested in the city, and an equal number in the district. Among the arrests there were members of the Russian clergy.

As, on the occasion of this affair, the public and the press were chiefly occupied with the treasures and their disappearance, and as the inquest into the affair was made in secret, there were few details of interest published about the Scoptsis of Morshansk, on the extent and the means of their propagandism, their manners and creed, or on the mysteries of their worship. Happily, however, Dr. Kopernicky says, in the *Moscow Gazette* (*Moskovskia Vedomosti*, which is a sort of Russian *Times*), there was a very valuable article, which was published on this occasion (Nos. 51, 52, and 54), under the title of "The Sects of the Scoptsis, in the Government of the Tauride in 1865," i.e. four years ago.

As this notice was entirely based upon the official documents of the inquest, it possesses all the merit of unquestionable authenticity. It unveils a series of details so curious and altogether so unknown that Dr. Kopernicky has had the kindness to furnish me with an extract from it.

It was taken on the Sea of Azov, in the Moscovite Colonies, on the two shores of the river Molotchna, in the districts of Berdiansk and Mililopol, which the proselytism of the Scoptsis had principally invaded.

In April, 1865, many rural communes of this last district addressed their complaints to the authorities against the growing phrensy of the Shaloputs, a sort of neophytes, or Scoptsis of the first degree, who are not yet castrated, who in open day had introduced mutilation into the bosom of their families. The most flagrant case was the complaint of a poor old man, whose young and beautiful daughter they had mutilated, without his having any suspicion of it.

It was proved at the inquest that the Shaloputs observed all the religious practices of the orthodox church, but it was only to mislead the surveillance of their neighbours, and to be able to observe their own nocturnal mysteries with more security. They reject all the

bonds of family relations and call their own fathers and mothers "fornicators." They require and receive from their proselytes an oath to keep absolute secrecy upon all that concerns their sect. During their nocturnal services, they cast at the feet of the new converts to be trodden on, the money of the country (the symbol of civil power), the written names of the father and mother of the convert, and the image of a saint (symbol of the official church). It is precisely in these nocturnal assemblies that they practise the sacrifice of castration in the midst of songs and dancing.

The Shaloputs and the Scoptsis are in the habit of establishing their dwellings in the neighbourhood of each other. It was thus, for example, that at Michailovka they occupied "the extremity of the Tim," the name of a district of the government of Kursk, in which village the first Scoptsis arrived in the eighteenth century. There were sixty-six Shaloputs in this village, among whom twelve were mutilated (three men and nine women), many of them recently.

In another village, in two Shaloput families, which contained nine persons, five were found to be castrated, among whom was a boy of 14. In another place likewise, among twenty-three Shaloputs there were eleven adults mutilated (three males and eight females), and three young boys of 15, 14, and 9 years of age. Upon this last, as well as upon two other children of the same age, the operation had been accomplished by "a special proceeding only possible in children" (!). Lastly, in another village there was found a woman of 35 years of age mutilated, who had been blind from birth. They also found Scoptsis who had undergone mutilation, of 60 and 70 years of age. In the whole, among 147 seized and examined in this district, 47 completed Scoptsis were imprisoned; among those there were many more females, 30, than males, 17. Many among the latter had received the *sigillum magnum*, that is to say, as is supposed, they had had their virile members amputated in the manner of the Bucharest Scoptsi, who would have been regarded undoubtedly as one of their saints. Among those arrested were two families of Scoptsis, of whom all were mutilated, both parents and children.

To escape the transportation to Siberia which awaited them, the Scoptsis interrogated ordinarily sought to justify themselves in different ways. Thus the married women either denied altogether their mutilation, or sought to make it believed that the cicatrices observed were the result of ulcerations, or of previous accouchements. The girls pretended that they were congenital vices of conformation, etc. As to the men, some avowed freely and naïvely that in accordance with the sixth chapter of Matthew they had mutilated themselves; others affirmed that it was an *unknown* person who had mutilated them after having stupefied them by means of a narcotic drink.

As, according to the penal code, Scoptsis who were castrated by violence or by artifice were acquitted, and even received *special* certificates by which they were enabled to dwell in safety, they did not fail to put forth this favourable circumstance, and often sought to give their odious practices all the appearance of an act of violence. As soon as they learned that one of their castrators in any part was

on the point of being seized by the police, they hastened to put themselves in his hands, they made it known to all the communes of the Scoptsis, and set to work with double energy to accomplish the greatest number of castrations possible; all at the expense of this operator. As soon as he is taken, complaints against him arrive from all parts. He does not deny them. And in this way the pretended victims of his barbarous violence get acquitted, and furnished with certificates which defend them from all persecution, and render them still more at liberty to continue their hateful proselytism.

To the exhortations which are made to them during the interrogatory of the inquest, the Shaloputs ordinarily reply in proverbs. "The edifice of the church does not consist of beams, but of ribs," they say, professing their dogma of the *invisible church*. "Do not incense the image, for you will smoke it." "The thieves have cut it, and the cattle are gone;" thus expressing themselves of the orthodox church. "He who has large sleeves has a wicked soul," etc.

The chief of the Militapolitani Scoptsis, a certain *Babanine*, escaped the pursuit. The Shaloputs represent her as an ardent fanatic, eloquent, and possessing the gift of prophesying. It was discovered that she entertained intimate relations with the Scoptsis of Bucharest and of Galatz, in Moldo-Wallachia. These having a great authority over the sectaries, encouraged and sent their benediction for the good work to the Scoptsis of Militapol. The inquest in the district of Berdiansk also showed that the sectaries of this country maintained a mysterious connection with a certain *Akouline Ivanovna*, who resided secretly at Bielgarad, in the Government of Kursk, and who is adored by the Scoptsis as the "Mother of God," the "Queen of Heaven." The Scoptsis and the Shaloputs make pilgrimages to this goddess, and address prayers to her in their religious services. They affirm that this *Akouline* dwells behind a *wall of gold*, and that she has never been able to be discovered. And, in fact, on the occasion of the different affairs of the Scoptsis, she was many times sought for by the police, but always in vain. The wall of gold dazzled in such a manner those who sought her.

It was the inquest at Berdiansk principally which brought to light many of the details concerning the dogmas and religious practices of the Scoptsis, of which these are the most prominent.

Babanine taught that to render oneself worthy of entering into the Kingdom of God, and of receiving the spirit of God, it is indispensable for a man to be castrated; for castration is the supreme good work, it is that "seal of God" which marks the elect of the Lord, and is spoken of in the sixth chapter of the Apocalypse. To live with a wife is to practise adultery, and draw down the punishment of God, similar to that which overtook David for having touched the wife of Uriah. *Babanine* ordered the adoration of Peter III as a second Christ, since Peter also was a eunuch and had his twelve disciples whom he sent out to preach the doctrine of the Scoptsis. The twelve apostles of Christ and the twelve disciples of Peter III, these are the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse, who are seated upon the twenty-four thrones, and

the souls of the massacred at their feet are all the *faithful* belonging to the sect of the Scoptsis.

They reckon among their saints, besides Peter III, the Empress Elizabeth Petrovina, Paul I, and Alexander I, who all protected their sect. Lastly, as has been already said, the same Akoulina Ivanayna, of Bielgarad, is adored by them as the "Queen of Heaven." It may be mentioned that Elizabeth was the daughter of Peter the Great, and reigned upwards of twenty years, was much regretted by her subjects, to whom she had endeared herself by the mildness of her administration. She was succeeded by Peter III, who only reigned six months, when he was dethroned and put into prison, where he died in a week, it is supposed by violence, in which his ambitious consort Catherine was concerned.

The Scoptsis reject the authority of the orthodox church, and call it Babylonian. They reject the eucharist, and hold baptism to be of no value when received from an orthodox priest. Babanine requires that they should be *rebaptised in spirit*. The ceremony of this baptism, practised upon every new convert, is accomplished in the following manner. In their nocturnal assemblies, in which this act ought to take place, they kindle a great number of candles. At the entrance of the neophyte the assembled Shaloputs salute him by saying: "You, who baptise yourself in the name of Christ, put on Christ!" The disciple repeats these words, and adds: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen! Lord! have pity on my soul, receive it among the number of the just, and write my soul in the book of life, in the book of the seventh heaven!" Afterwards Babanine and the baptised pronounce the "canon fidei"; lastly, the latter solemnly repeats the following oath: "Now, O Lord! having received thy law, I will never speak of it to my parents, nor to the world, nor to the *possessors of the darkness of this age* (i.e., to the clergy and the authorities who persecute their sect), and if I should ever speak of it O Lord! then never pardon me, O Lord! nor have pity on me, and may thy cross strike me down, O crucified. Amen."

The oath having been pronounced, they sing "Ave Maria." Afterwards, the newly baptised repeats after Babanine the prayer "Have pity on me!" Addressed successively to the "Lords of God," Peter III, Tiadorovites, Paul I, and Alexander I, and to the "Lady Mothers" Elizabeth Petrovina and Akoulina Ivanovna, "Queen of the Heavens." The ceremony is finished by the absurd question of Babanine, made of the new convert: "Does baptism please you?"

For their nocturnal meeting the Scoptsis have no days fixed beforehand. Each time a meeting ought to take place is arranged five or six days before; when they assemble at ten o'clock at night, and remain till the break of day. Those who become fatigued ascend into the garret of the house to lie down, and are replaced by others who arrive later in the night. In order not to attract the indiscreet attention of the neighbours, in quitting the assembly, they take care to go out in small groups, and many remain till the following night. Their chief especially arrives only in the night, and departs before the day. In these assemblies the sitting is opened by chanting hymns composed

by one of their inspired psalmists, as Babanine. First, it is the men who chant, striking each measure upon their knees. "Omnes gentes plaudite manibus," Ps. The women dance round, stepping in measures—some among them turn themselves round. This dance continues till the complete exhaustion of the dancers, which is often followed by convulsions and vomiting. Then, a change takes place; the women begin to chant, to beat the measure, to jump and turn. This is called "working for God," and constitutes, after mutilation, the work most agreeable to the Lord. Babanine assured her disciples that it was in the same way that our Saviour Himself prayed in the Garden of Gethsemane, and that it was the same dance which the angels of heaven dance round the throne of God, after having expelled Satan. Lastly, that the Lord Himself taught us to *turn* upon Mount Tabor, where He showed His glory, and ascended to heaven *turning*.

The commission of the inquest succeeded in obtaining many of the hymns of the Scoptsis chanted in their assemblies. They are for the most part the most foolish and barbarous absurdities put into bad rhymes and intermixed with flattering allusions to their sect. It is nearly impossible to translate these absurdities into a human language. Dr. Kopernicky has, however, attempted to translate one as a specimen.

"Bless, O secret synod! thy faithful orphans to render glory to the Lord by means of the Divine round"—the dance of the Scoptsis—"it invokes the spirit that he may smile upon us—our Lord and our Life! descend from the seventh heaven. He marches through all the villages; light dwells in Him. The Word is gone forth, the Word delivered by the prophets that we should not do evil." "And again, my dears, I go to tell you a serious saying: *that the treasure may be prepared*" (!) The secret and invisible manna descends to us from heaven, and the living water flows to us also." "Do not delay the moments, for I go to collect the seed."

"All the archbishops and senators will admire his great suffering.

"Our Father the Emperor (Peter III) suffers his last suffering, and inclines himself in prayer before Sabaoth.

"O my heavenly Father! I do Thy will, I do Thy will, and I teach my little children and order them to keep the law.

"Do thou carry the heavenly word, and do thou implore Sabaoth for us all, O our dear Bird!

"Our light, O Lord! will reign shortly both in heaven and on earth. The glory of God, honour and power for ever. Amen!"

After the chants and the exhausting dances, the prophesies follow. The prophet Babanine, in white stockings, the Bible open in her hands, places herself upon a cloth stretched out in the middle of the chamber. The sectaries all on their knees, surround her. Babanine begins:—

"Let us pray rightly, that the second Christ may be brought to life again? He is present among us. Open your ears, for I am going to do miracles! Behold the book of generation (!), the theologian (*sic*) goes to read it to you." And afterwards she begins to prophesy, in absurd and badly rhyming verses, at first, for all in general, and then

for certain Shaloputs in particular. Thus, to one of them she predicts: "Thou, like to the prophet Abbakhum, thou shalt be host in all the cities; and thyself white as a pigeon, thou shalt feed the white pigeons."

To another, who is preparing himself to be castrated, Babanina exclaims:—"O, thou soul well-beloved! thou shalt receive from heaven signs which will astonish the whole family of Israel. . . . And the Father will not fail to give thee the heptagon (?) crown. It is alone necessary that thou shalt decide to pour out thy blood for Christ!" All the auditory weep aloud, moved by these sublime words.

It is with particular vehemence that this Babanine preaches against the sin of the violation of the secret, as of Judas selling Christ. She also interprets with ardour the Apocalypse, and principally the sixth chapter. The second verse of this chapter is referred to Peter III, who, being castrated, vanquished the enemy; the fourth verse is supposed to relate to Alexander I; the fifth and sixth verses to the Scoptsis, and the extension of their sect. *Bilibris tritici* signifies the sacrifice of castration; *tres bilibres hordei denario* signifies that one not castrated must work three times more than the eunuch to attain salvation. *Oleum* signifies grace, *vinum* joy, destined for the Scoptsis. The eighth verse has relation to Nicholas I, who delivered the people of God—the Scoptsis—as a prey to the beasts of the earth, to the archbishops, and impure authorities. In the ninth chapter, the "seal of God" signifies mutilation, and the "locusts" war and crimes.

This is a tolerably faithful, although certainly not complete picture of this savage and extraordinary sect. The fully proved existence of such a sect, especially as a Christian sect, seems to be a phenomenon truly worthy to attract the attention of anthropologists.

Dr. Kopernicky says that he considers there are many reasons for believing that this aberration in Christianity cannot be explained otherwise than by the psychological peculiarity of the race of Moscovites, in which it prevails. He adds, that he well recollects the judicious and profound opinions pronounced by the Rev. Dunbar Heath, already alluded to, upon the difference which exists between the Semite and Aryan races in their appreciation of the doctrine of Christianity. In reflecting on the Scoptsis, who exist and prosper among the Moscovites, it may be equally asked—what is this race which, having received Christianity, is capable of producing and suffering such fruits.

Dr. Kopernicky holds it for an anthropological fact least questionable that the ideas and religious creeds, sound or absurd, moral or immoral, etc., which are produced, or develop themselves among a certain race, depend greatly upon the character of the psychological sentiments natural to that race. This is the reason why the Gospel was so readily accepted, and has taken such root among the Aryan people, and why, on the contrary, the Koran has had most success and most persistence among the Semites. It is also the reason why, as has been demonstrated by the learned discussions in the bosom of this Anthropological Society of London, the propagation of Mohammedanism has more chances of success among African Negroes than Christian missions have hitherto had.

In examining the nature and the origin of Christian sects from this point of view—as so many varieties in religious belief produced in Christianity—it is seen that we shall confirm the same fact of the existence of an intimate and natural bond between the psychological character of a race and its religious ideas and practices. Thus, among the Christian sects so numerous in the United States of America, we only see for the most part extravagances which are purely doctrinal, or different aberrations which manifest themselves by strange rites, and which are at most ridiculous or absurd. But a sect so *dénaturée et barbare* as that of the Scoptsis, the Chlystis, the Molokans, and others which prosper among the Moscovites, never could subsist in America, even for half a year. They would be driven away in a manner the Mormons, who are much less monstrous than the Scoptsis, have been driven into the desert.

Then what is this Moscovite race, which, becoming Christian, gives birth to religious monstrosities of this kind? It is not the Slave race without doubt, since that which precisely distinguishes the Slavie nations in their religious creeds is their attachment to a religion once adopted and become traditional. Thus, to speak only of the *Orthodox* Slavies, the nearest to the Moscovites, *i.e.* the Ruthenians and the White Russians, the fact is, that since the introduction of Christianity there have never existed sects among them, in the way that they are seen among the Muscovites.

But, it may be replied, that race has nothing to do with the origin of such sects as the Scoptsis, since this is a *morbid* phenomenon, so to speak, and which, under one form or another, may arise anywhere, especially where, as in Russia, the people are not enlightened and the clergy ignorant.

A reply might be made by directing attention to the same Ruthenians, the Serfs, the Bulgarians, and the Moldo-Wallachians, who are not at all more advanced in civilisation than the Moscovites, but among whom a similar phenomenon never has been and never will be produced. It is certainly because that, in the nature of these races, there are no necessary elements for the production and nourishment of such monstrosities.

There is one thing among the Scoptsis to which Dr. Kopernicky is disposed to attribute a Tatar origin, *i.e.*, their dancing and rotation until fainting and ecstasy are produced, which reminds us of the whirling Dervishes of Central Asia. This is so much the more probable, as there are other sects, as the Chlystys and the Dancers, in which dancing and prophesying constitute integral parts of their religious mysteries.

Dr. Kopernicky's recital reveals a striking difference in the state of society and laws under which the Scoptsis are placed from those which prevail in this country. Here all things are tolerated in religion, even enforced celibacy, both of males and females, however unnatural. Although not accompanied with mutilations such as those practised by the Scoptsis, it is equally contrary to the law of nature, and also productive of a frightful amount of evil. Similar mutilations to those practised by the Scoptsis, as far as castration goes, are sometimes met

with in this country, but they are usually made known only among the inmates of our lunatic asylums, who occasionally mutilate themselves.

The term "Raskol", it has already been explained, is the name under which all dissenters in Russia are included. This designation appears to be applied to the Great Russians or Moscovites solely. It is worthy of being communicated to the Society that there is another sect of the *Bespopovchchina*, or first division of the Raskol, who are in Siberia, which sect has proceeded to greater lengths even than those exhibited by the *Scoptsis*. This is the *Tschovstevennicks* (meaning those who are sensible, as if in derision of their practices) who, not only live in celibacy, but also voluntarily devote themselves to the flames, which has been done in recent times amid religious chants, and without drawing from them any indications of pain by cries or trepidation. It was thus that in the neighbourhood of the town of Tumen, in Western Siberia, one thousand seven hundred persons, with an ecclesiastic named Dometian, took the resolution to burn themselves together.

In confirmation of the theory of Dr. Kopernicky, a reference might be made to the races of India, in whom religious practices most contrary to reason and nature prevail extensively. Devotees observe rites which are quite frightful and abominable. One which is practised may be mentioned. There are some fanatics who avoid excrementitious evacuations. They are said to live upon milk, and, after having taken it some little time, they swallow a small ball attached to a string, which causes them to vomit up the remora. They thus avoid the evacuation of feces in the ordinary and natural manner.

It may be added that the priests of the Phrygian Cybele castrated themselves, which was done with a potsherd, that by lacerating the vessels would prevent hæmorrhage. The same rule was binding upon the priests of the "Dea Syria," who in many points resembles the Greek Aphrodite, and was worshipped at Edessa. But it is related that they emasculated themselves by the external application of a plant which is translated "hemlock". A learned friend, who has reminded me of these instances, says that there was not any early Christian sect observing such a rule, but that individuals thought it imperative to obey the injunction in St. Matthew, as in the case of the celebrated Origen.

The mode of arranging the hair seen in the photographs of the *Scoptsis*, by parting it down the middle, is not exclusively peculiar to that sect. All the Moscovites, without exception, wear it in the same manner. This fashion does not prevail among the Little Russians, nor among the Lithuanians or Poles.

It is not known at what period the sect of the *Scoptsis* took its rise, but it probably arose during the latter half of the last century, about the time of the great revolt of Pougatcheff (1770-73), which would connect it with the Emperor Peter III, their saint.

The kind of operation practised by the *Scoptsis* upon women is wholly unknown.

It is remarkable, but deserving of anthropological notice, that the

Moscovites or Great Russians, amongst whom exclusively the Scoptists prevail, are also distinguished among the people of Russia for their fits of drunkenness, which are not met with among the Little Russians, nor the White Russians. These are regarded as a disease, which has the name of Zapoi.

Discussion having been invited,

The Rev. DUNBAR I. HEATH said that the paper was very opportune, as Professor Max Müller had lately drawn attention to the natural law by which all known religions had grown one out of the other. The subjects to which he would direct attention were two: first, to what racial religion this extraordinary sect belonged; and second, to the great question which their practices so vividly brought before us as to the contest between individual rights against society and those of society against the individual. It had been said that, being Christians, their religion must be substantially Semitic. Not so. Throughout the whole of the Hebrew sacred writings it was recognised that sexuality was not evil. The Jews held the eunuch to be unclean, and for that reason rejected the prophet Daniel, from whom we derive the most fundamental ideas of our present Christianity. Neither in the history of their greatest saints, nor in the precepts of their greatest writers, was even ordinary chastity recommended, still less the essential rites of these Scoptists. As to putting down the Scoptists by force, on the plea that their practices are injurious to society, there were at that moment women in England not only suffering from one of the most frightful of diseases, but one which was also most frightfully contagious, and not only most frightfully contagious, but most frightfully hereditary. The harm done to society by these unfortunates is a thousandfold greater than that done by the Scoptists, who simply take the most straightforward means of escaping from what they conceive to be wicked. Yet very many are seeking in the name of individual right to perpetuate misery and deformity among our progeny. The solution of this great contest, viz., the contest between opposing rights is to be found, as Buckle says, only in the increase of knowledge, society is happily now more and more emancipated from the old ideas imposed on it by a tyrannical religiosity. It is becoming more and more benevolent, more and more charitable, affectionate, and good.

Dr. T. SPENCER COBBOLD described the extent of the mutilation as shown by the preparation exhibited.

Dr. CHARNOCK said it seemed doubtful from the paper upon which verse in Matthew the Scoptists based their origin. In two places it was said that they acted in accordance with Matth. xix: it afterwards appeared that the peculiarities of the sect arose through the literal interpretation of the Evangelist "*Expediit enim tibi ut pereat unum membrum tuorum*" (Matth. v, verse 29); but the latter had reference to plucking out the right eye, cutting off the right hand, and however silly these people might be, they could have hardly confounded the eye or the hand with the *membrum virile*. Without doubt the sect had originated through the misinterpretation of Matt. xix, v. 12:—"For there were some eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb, and there are some eunuchs which were made eunuchs of men, and there

be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it let him receive it." According to the best commentators, the assertion that some eunuchs made themselves such referred to the living a life of celibacy and not to mutilating the body,* and the words "Ο ευνάμενος χωρεῖν, χωρεῖτω, merely meant that those who were able to lead such a life had better do so. It was not, however, difficult to understand that the Scoptsi should have mistaken the passage in Matthew. Origen, the celebrated Christian writer, interpreting this to the letter, castrated himself; but it was a fact that he afterwards repented of what he had done, and in a commentary on Matth. xix, repudiated this literal understanding of the words. Again, a sect called Valentinians (who took their name from the celebrated Gnostic Valentinus), interpreting this injunction to the letter, castrated themselves. Moreover the practice is recommended by Philon the Jew and other ancient philosophers for the sake of chastity. Dr. Barnard Davis says that among the Ruthenians, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Moldo-Wallachians, who are not more advanced in civilisation than the Moscovites, similar phenomena never have been, and never will be, produced. It was, perhaps, questionable whether civilisation had anything to do with the matter, and it was impossible to say what might not take place. Dr. Charnock was glad to hear the opinion of the authors of the paper as to the terms "Aryan" and "Semitic." The former term had no meaning, either ethnologically, geographically, or philologically, and was only equalled in absurdity by that of Turanian. The name of the Scoptsi was no doubt derived from the Russian word *skopet*, to castrate. The word *Popovshcheena* meant "those who have priests;" *Bespopovshcheena*, "those without priests." He agreed with Dr. Carter Blake that the facial character, as shown by the photographs produced, differed little from that of the Russians generally.

Mr. W. R. S. RALSTON (of the British Museum) said that the word Scoptsi was derived from the verb in its infinitive, *skopit*, to castrate. Hence *skopets*, an eunuch; and nominative plural *skoptsi*, eunuchs. Their numbers were supposed to have been at the time of the report sent in to the minister of the interior (in Russia) about two thousand. Almost all of them live in the governments of Moscow or Tambof. But about one hundred and seventy are at St. Petersburg, chiefly money-changers. The appearance of these people is so strange and characteristic, that no one who has observed them can fail afterwards to recognise them. At a little distance, their faces seem almost youthful; seen nearer, they are found to be equally wanting in the usual marks of early life or of later age. The cheeks are generally smooth, though some of them have a thin whisker or beard, and they have a kind of creased or rumpled look. The mouth is usually weak; but the most striking features are the hue of the skin and the expression of the eye. Their complexion is pallid, tallowy, and unwholesome; and, although it may have a touch of colour, the skin seems to be rather painted than suffused. Below the eye, the skin is drawn

* The Vulgate has, however, "Et sunt eunuchi, seipsos castraverunt propter regnum cælorum."

and dark ; in extreme cases, the eye itself is glassy and lustreless, while, from its corners, thousands of fine wrinkles spread over the face, puckering it so strangely as though a cobweb were clinging to it. Many Scoptsi do not differ much in appearance from other Russians ; but they are always recognisable at first sight, owing to their having some of that worn and haggard aspect which, in other members of the community, becomes utter ghastliness. In a curious collection of documents relating to the Roskolniks, or schismatics, of Russia, printed privately, by order of the Russian Government, but afterwards reprinted in London, and published by Mr. Trübner, with a French title (*Recueil de Documents Officiels sur les Dissidents Russes*, 6 vols. London : 1863), much information is given concerning the Scoptsi. This work is accompanied by an album of photographs, most of which are taken from drawings made for the purpose of illustrating the volume devoted to this and several kindred sects. Among them are five representations of secret rites of the Scoptsi. The first of these pictures represents their ceremony of initiation ; in the last, a novice is being received at a formal meeting of the members of the sect. The others show their wild dances, technically called *Radzeniga* (*Radzenie* properly means zeal). The circular dance of the Scoptsi is called the "boat *Radzenie*"; for their community is styled by them "the boat" (*Kopablik*), and its members "boatmen". Their enemies assert that these dances degenerate into horrible orgies ; but such charges must always be regarded with suspicion. In many respects they may be compared with the Essenes, especially so far as they form a permanent community, in spite of their singular ideas about the marriage state. The Essenes were recruited from without, and so are the Scoptsi. Every Scopet is anxious to enlist new members ; for he becomes an "apostle" as soon as he has made twelve converts. They are well-behaved people in most respects, honest, sober, thrifty. But the government has always more or less proscribed them, and attempts have been made from time to time to crush them. The chances are that as education progresses in Russia, and a purer religious feeling spreads among its inhabitants, such manifestations of diverted piety as these pitiable fanatics exhibit will become rarer and rarer, and finally disappear altogether.

After further remarks from Mr. Walter Dendy, Mr. Moncure Conway, Mr. Charlesworth, and Mr. Lewis, the meeting adjourned till 5th April.

APRIL 5TH, 1870.

CAPTAIN BEDFORD PIM, R.N., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes were read and confirmed.

The thanks of the meeting were voted for the list of presents, viz. :

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of Yorkshire, 1869.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, No. 1, vol. xiv.

From the AUTHOR.—Description of the Cavern of Bruniquel and its organic remains, by Professor R. Owen, F.R.S.

From the ACADEMY.—Bulletin de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Petersburg, tom. xiv, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

From GEORGE TATE, Esq.—Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 117.

From the AUTHOR.—Descrizione di un Celosomo Dirino con exencefalia idiocefalica, by Prof. A. Garbiglietti.

From the EDITOR.—Scientific Opinion (to date).

From the EDITOR.—Nature (to date).

From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, April, 1870.

From the AUTHOR.—L'Os Intermaxillaire de l'Homme, by Dr. E. T. Hamy.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 9, 1869, No. 1, 1870 ; Journal ditto, part i, No. 4, 1869.

FOR THE MUSEUM.

From R. B. N. WALKER, Esq.—Skulls (3) from West Africa.

A paper by Mr. HODDER M. WESTROPP "On Phallic Worship," was read as follows:—

Human nature is the same in all climes, and the workings of this same human nature are almost identical in the different stages of its growth. Hence similar and analogous ideas, beliefs, and superstitious practices are frequently evolved independently among different peoples. These are the result of suggestions arising spontaneously in the human mind at certain stages of its development, and which seem to be almost universal.

As a remarkable instance of this, I have drawn up the following sketch of Phallic worship, which was one of those beliefs or superstitious practices which have sprung up independently, and which seem to have extensively prevailed among many nations.

It will acquire additional interest when it is considered that it is the most ancient of the superstitious of the human race, that it has prevailed more or less among all known people in ancient times, and that it has been handed down even to a very late and Christian period.

In the earlier ages the operations of nature made a stronger impression on the minds of men. Those ideas, springing from the constant ob-

servation of the modes of acting in nature were consequently more readily suggested to the minds of all races of men in the primitive ages.

Two causes must have forcibly struck the minds of men in those early periods when observant of the operations of nature, one the generative power, and the other the productive, the active and passive causes. This double mode of production visible in nature must have given rise to comparisons with the mode of proceeding in the generation of animals, in which two causes concur, the one active and the other passive, the one male and the other female, the one as father, the other as mother. These ideas were doubtless suggested independently and spontaneously in different countries; for the human mind is so constituted that the same objects and the same operations of nature will suggest like ideas in the minds of men of all races, however widely apart.

Nature to the early man was not brute matter, but a being invested with his own personality, and endowed with the same feelings, passions, and performing the same actions. He could only conceive the course of nature from the analogy to his own actions. Generation, begetting—production, bringing forth—were thus his ideas of cause and effect. The earth was looked upon as the mould of nature, as the recipient of seeds, the nurse of what was produced in its bosom; the sky was the fecundating and fertilising power. An analogy was suggested in the union of the male and female. These comparisons are found in ancient writers. "The sky," Plutarch says, "appeared to men to perform the functions of a father, as the earth those of a mother. The sky was the father, for it cast seed into the bosom of the earth, which in receiving them became fruitful and brought forth, and was the mother."

This union has been sung in the following verses by Virgil:—

"*Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit.*"—*Geor.* II.

Columella has related, in his treatise on agriculture, the loves of nature, or the marriage of heaven and earth, which takes place in the spring of the year.

These ideas bear a prominent part in the religious creeds of several nations. In Egypt the Deity or principle of generation was Khem, called "the father"—the abstract idea of father; as the goddess Maut was that of mother. The office of Khem was not confined to the procreation and continuation of the human species, but extended even to the vegetable world, over which he presided, when we find his statue accompanied by trees and plants; and kings offering to him herbs of the ground, cutting the corn before him, or employed in his presence tilling the land, and preparing it to receive the generating influence of the deity.

In the Saiva Purana of the Hindoos, Siva says: "From the supreme spirit proceed Purusha (the generative or male principle), Prakiti (the productive or female principle), and Tirue; and by them was produced this universe, the manifestation of the one god. . . . Of all organs of sense and intellect, the best is mind, which proceeds from Ahankara, Ahankara from intellect, intellect from the supreme being, who is, in fact,

Purusha. It is the primeval male, whose form constitutes the universe, and whose breath is the sky ; and though incorporeal that male am I." In the *Kṛitya Tatwa*, Siva is thus addressed by Brahma : "I know that Thou, O Lord, art the eternal Brahma, that seed which, being received in the womb of thy Sakti (aptitude to conceive) produced this universe ; that thou united with thy Sakti dost create the universe from thine own substance like the web from the spider." In the same creed Siva is the personification of the sun (which he is equally with Surya) or fire, the genial heat which pervades, generates and vivifies all ; and Bhavani, who, as the goddess of nature is also the earth, is the universal mother.

Among the Assyrians, the supreme god, Bel, was styled "the procreator"; and his wife, the goddess Mylitta, represented the productive principle of nature, and received the title of the queen of fertility. Another deity, the god Vul, the god of the atmosphere, is styled the beneficent chief, the giver of abundance, the lord of fecundity. On Assyrian cylinders he is represented as a phallic deity. With him is associated a goddess Shala, whose ordinary title is "Sarrat," queen, the feminine of the word "Sar," which means chief. Sir Henry Rawlinson remarks, with regard to the Assyrian San, or Shamas, the sun-god, that the idea of the motive influence of the sun-god in all human affairs arose from the manifest agency of the material sun in stimulating the functions of nature. In Phœnician mythology, Ouranos (heaven) weds Ghè (the earth), and by her becomes father of Oceanus, Hyperon, Iapetus, Cronos, and other gods. In conformity with the religious ideas of the Greeks and Romans, Virgil describes the products of the earth as the result of the conjugal act between Jupiter (the sky) and Juno (the earth). According to St. Augustin, the sexual organ of man was consecrated in the temple of Liber, that of woman in the sanctuaries of Libera, these two divinities were named father and mother.

In the month of April, when the fertilising powers of nature begin to operate and its productive powers to be visibly developed, a festival in honour of Venus took place at Rome, in it the phallus was carried in a cart, and led in procession by the Roman ladies to the temple of Venus outside the Colline gate, and then presented by them to the sexual parts of the goddess. This is only symbolising the same idea as expressed by Virgil in the *Georgics*. We find similar ideas in the religious creeds of America, and of the remote islands of the Pacific Ocean. According to the Indians of Central America, Famagostad and Zipaltonal, the first male and the second female, created heaven, earth, man, and all things.

The Tahitians imagined that everything which exists in the universe proceeds from the union of two beings ; one of them was named Tarotaihetounou : the other Tepapa ; they were supposed to produce continually and by connection the days and months. Those islanders supposed that the sun and moon, which are gods, had begotten the stars, and that the eclipses were the time of their copulation.

A New Zealand myth says we have two primeval ancestors, a father and a mother. They are rangi and papa, heaven and earth. The

earth, out of which all things are produced, is our mother ; the protecting and overruling heaven is our father.

It is thus evident that the doctrine of the reciprocal principles of nature, or nature active and passive, male and female, was recognised in nearly all the primitive religious systems of the old as well as of the new world, and in none more clearly than in those of Central America ; thus proving, not only the wide extent of the doctrine, but also its separate and independent origin, springing from those innate principles which are common to human nature in all climes and races. Hence the almost universal reverence paid to the images of the sexual parts as they were regarded as symbols and types of the generative and productive principles in nature, and of those gods and goddesses who were the representatives of the same principles. The Phallus and the Cteis, the Lingam and the Yoni—the special parts contributing to generation and production, becoming thus symbols of those active and passive causes, could not but become objects of reverence and worship. The union of the two symbolised the creative energy of all nature ; for almost all primitive religion consisted in the reverence and worship paid to nature and its operations.

Evidence that this worship extensively prevailed will be found in many countries, both in ancient and modern times. It occurs in ancient Egypt, in India, in Syria, in Babylon, among the Assyrians, in Persia, Greece, Italy, Spain, Germany, Scandinavia, and among the Gauls. In Egypt, the phallus is frequently represented as the symbol of generation. According to Ptolemy, the Phallus was the object of religious worship among the Assyrians and also among the Persians. In Syria, Baal-peor was represented with a phallus in his mouth, according to St. Jerome. The Jews did not escape this worship ; and we see their women manufacturing phalli of gold and of silver, as we find in Ezekiel xvi, 17. Among the Hindoos a religious reverence was paid to the Lingam and Yoni, and among the Greeks and Romans to the Phallus and Cteis. Among the Teutons and Scandinavians, the god Fricco, corresponding to the Priapus of the Romans, was adored under the form of a phallus ; a similar god under a similar symbol was adored in Spain, whose name was Hortanes.

This worship has been found in different parts of America, in Mexico, in Peru, at Hayti ; it still prevails at the present day in a great part of India and Thibet. According to Mr. Stephens, the upright pillar in front of the temples of Yucatan is a phallus. We read in an ancient document written by one of the companions of Fernando Cortez : "In certain countries, and particularly at Panuco, they adore the Phallus (il membro che portano gli uomini fra le gambe), and it is preserved in the temples." The inhabitants of Tlascala also paid worship to the sexual organs of a man and woman. In Peru, several representations in clay of the Phallus are met with. At Hayti, according to Mr. Artaud, phalli have been discovered in different parts of the island, and are believed to be undoubtedly the manufacture of the original inhabitants of the island. In one of the Marianne islands of the Pacific Ocean, on festive occasions, a phallus, highly ornamented, called by the natives Tinas, is carried in procession.

Among the simple and primitive races of men, the act of generation was considered as no more than one of the operations of nature contributing to the reproduction of the species, as in agriculture the sowing of seed for the production of corn, and was consequently looked upon as a solemn duty consecrated to the Deity; as Payne Knight remarks, it was considered as a solemn sacrament in honour of the Creator.

In those early ages, all the operations of nature were consecrated to some divinity, from whom they were supposed to emanate; thus the sowing of seed was presided over by Ceres.

In Egypt, the act of generation was consecrated to Khem; in Assyria, to Vul; in India, to Siva; in Greece in the primitive pastoral age, to Pan; and in later times, to Priapus; and in Italy, to Mutinus. Among the Mexicans, the god of generation was named Triazolteni. These gods became the representatives of the generative or fructifying powers in man and nature.

The following curious passage from Voltaire (*Oreilles du Comte de Chesterfield*), borrowed from Cook's First Voyage, will show that almost similar views were entertained by a primitive race in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, which must have been suggested independently, from their complete disconnection with the ancient world. "The Princess Obeira, queen of the island of Otaheite, after having made us many presents with a politeness worthy of a queen of England, was anxious to be present some morning at our English service. We celebrated it with as much ceremony as possible. She invited us to hers after dinner; it was on the 14th of May, 1769. We found her surrounded by about a thousand persons of both sexes, ranged in a semicircle, and in a respectful silence. A very pretty young girl, slightly dressed, was lying on a raised bench, which served as an altar. The Queen Obeira ordered a handsome young man of about twenty to go and sacrifice. He uttered a kind of prayer, and ascended the altar. The two sacrificers were half naked. The queen, with a majestic air, taught the young victim the most proper manner to consummate the sacrifice. All the Otaheitans were so attentive and respectful, that none of our sailors dared to interrupt the ceremony by an indecent laugh. This is what I have seen; it is for you to draw your own inferences." "This sacred festival does not astonish me," said Dr. Goodman; "I feel persuaded that this was the first festival that men ever celebrated; and I do not see why we should not pray to God when we are going to make a being in his image, as we pray before we take our food, which serves to support our body; working to give birth to a reasonable being is a most noble and holy action. It is thus the first Indians thought, who revered the lingam, the symbol of generation; the ancient Egyptians, who carried the phallus in procession; the Greeks, who erected temples to Priapus."

The reverence, as well as worship, paid to the phallus in the early ages had nothing in it which partook of indecency: all ideas connected with it were of a reverential and religious kind. When Abraham, as mentioned in Genesis, in asking his servant to take a solemn oath, makes him lay his hand on his parts of generation (in

the common version, "under his thigh"), it was that he required as a token of his sincerity his placing his hand on the most revered part of his body; as, at the present day, a man would place his hand on his heart in order to evince his sincerity. Jacob, when dying, makes his son Joseph perform the same act. A similar custom is still retained among the Arabs at the present day. An Arab, in taking a solemn oath, will place his hand on his membrum virile in attestation of his sincerity.

The indecent ideas attached to the phallic symbol were, though it seems a paradox to say so, the result of a more advanced civilisation verging towards its decline, as we have evidence at Rome and Pompeii.

We may here introduce an extremely just and apposite remark of Constant in his work on Roman polytheism: "Indecent rites may be practised by a religious people with the greatest purity of heart. But when incredulity has gained a footing among these peoples, these rites become then the cause and pretext of the most revolting corruption." A similar remark has been made by Voltaire. Speaking of the worship of Priapus, he says, "our ideas of propriety lead us to suppose that a ceremony which appears to us so infamous could only be invented by licentiousness; but it is impossible to believe that depravity of manners would ever have led among any people to the establishment of religious ceremonies. It is probable, on the contrary, that this custom was first introduced in times of simplicity, that the first thought was to honour the deity in the symbol of life which it has given us. Such a ceremony may have excited licentiousness among youths, and have appeared ridiculous to men of education in more refined, more corrupt, and more enlightened times."

Three phases in the representation of the phallus, should be distinguished; first, when it was the object of reverence and religious worship; secondly, when it was used as a protecting power against evil influences of various kinds, and as a charm or amulet against envy and the evil eye, as at the postern gate at Alatri and at Pompeii, and as frequently occurs in amulets of porcelain found in Egypt, and of bronze in Italy; thirdly, when it was the result of mere licentiousness and dissolute morals. Another cause also contributed to its reverence and frequent representation—the natural desire of women among all races, barbarous as well as civilised, to be the fruitful mother of children—especially as among some people women were esteemed according to the number of children they bore, and as among the Mohammedans of the present day, it is sinful not to contribute to the population; as a symbol, therefore, of prolificacy, and as the bestower of offspring, the phallus became an object of reverence and especial worship among women. At Pompeii was found a gold ring, with the representation of the phallus on its bezel, supposed to have been worn by a barren woman. To propitiate the deity and to obtain offspring, offerings of this symbol were made in Roman temples by women, and this custom has been retained in modern times at Isernia, near Naples. Stone offerings of phalli are also made at the present day in a Buddhist temple in Pekin, and for the same object Mohammedan women kiss with reverence the organ of generation of an idiot or saint. In

India this worship has found its most extensive development. There young girls who are anxious for husbands, and married women who are desirous of progeny, are ardent worshippers of Siva; and his symbol, the Lingam, is sometimes exhibited in enormous proportions.

In the sixteenth century, St. Foutin, in the south of France, St. Ters at Antwerp, and in the last century Saints Cosmo and Damiano at Isernia, near Naples, were worshipped for the same purpose by young girls and barren women.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson records similar superstitious practices at the present day at Ekhmin in Egypt. The superstitions of the natives here ascribed the same properties to a stone in one of the sheikh's tombs, and likewise to that of the temple of Pan, which the statues of the god of generation, the patron deity of Panopolis (Ekhmin), were formerly believed to have possessed; and the modern women of Ekhmin, with similar hopes and equal credulity, offer their vows to these relics for a numerous progeny.

We may conclude with the following passage from Captain Burton, which exhibits similar customs among a rude and barbarous people of the present day: "Among all barbarians whose primal want is progeny, we observe a greater or less development of the phallic worship. In Dahomè it is uncomfortably prominent. Every street from Whydah to the capital is adorned with the symbol, and the old ones are not removed. The Dahoman Priapus is a clay figure, of any size between a giant and the pigmy, crouched upon the ground, as if contemplating its own attributes. The head is sometimes a wooden block rudely carved, more often dried mud, and the eyes and teeth are supplied by cowries. A huge penis, like the section of a broomstick, rudely carved, as similar Japanese articles, projects horizontally from the middle. The tree of life is anointed with palm-oil, which drips into a pot or a shard placed below it, and the would-be mother of children prays that the great god Legba will make her fertile."

Mr. C. STANILAND WAKE then read a paper, "On the Influence of the Phallic Idea in the Religions of Antiquity."

[Abstract.]

After showing that the phallic superstition originated in the desire for children, and in the veneration for the instrument through which this desire was gratified, the paper proceeded to consider the legend of the "fall," which is proved to have had a phallic basis, from the association with it of the serpent, the tree, and the cherubim, all of which embody phallic ideas. The legend itself was derived from a Persian source, although it originated with the Chaldeans. The paper then traced the worship of the pillar-god, the Syro-Egyptian Hermes-Thoth, and the deity symbolised by the *beth-el* of the Hebrew patriarchs, showing its connection with the Sun-worship practised, if not introduced, by Abraham, and the primeval worship of Saturn. The generative attribute of this deity had, however, more especial reference to man; and the bull, which afterwards became the symbol of the Sun-god, was used as the emblem of fecundity in nature. The peculiar symbol of the pillar-gods as sun-deities was the serpent. The progress of sun-worship was

shortly pointed out, and the development of the idea of "wisdom," attributed to the Aryan and Grecian deities. After referring to the deluge-legend, the paper concluded with a notice of the phallic character of Hinduism and Buddhism, and the phallic symbols of Christianity.

The CHAIRMAN having invited discussion on the above two papers,

Mr. VILLIN said: The paper which was first read does not seem to contain a single new fact, and repeats many errors already admitted to be errors. This paper is nothing but an abstract of Boudin's book on Phallic Worship; and Boudin's book is nothing else than a badly conceived compilation of earlier writers, every one of whose writings is teeming with errors. We cannot let this opportunity pass without pointing out some of the gross mistakes which are handed down to us as facts. All those who have read Boudin's book will admit that such a writer—however worthy of credit on other branches of anthropology, as he is undoubtedly—cannot for a single moment pass for an authority on the score of phallic worship. He indiscriminately repeats what he finds in old authors, without sifting facts from exaggerations, or questioning the veracity, judgment, or impartiality of those authors. It is the business of a learned society to reject authorities, however old or respected they may have been, if, after having been submitted to the ordinary rules of criticism, the facts enunciated cannot apparently be maintained. The author of this paper, in the very first sentence, endorses Boudin's paradox, "that human nature is the same in all climes"; and from this paradox he naturally infers that phallic worship has been universal. But, in the first place, every anthropologist will grant that, if the genus *Homo* is the genus *Homo* in all climes, *human nature* is, or appears to be, very different in China or Africa from what it is in Europe or America. If the doubt on this point was not shared by almost every one, would the Anthropological Society exist? Would not a Londoner be quite as good a subject for study as twenty different races, for the purpose of knowing what is and what is not human nature? In the second place, if it be proved that Phallism has really existed as a worship or religion, the proofs are still wanting for us to admit that this religion was at any time universal, for most of the so-called proofs which were enumerated to us to night are mere assertions. It will be sufficient for me to point out a few of the errors contained in this paper in order to show how cautious we should be in the collecting of our facts. Mr. Westropp takes for granted all he finds in Boudin, and consequently he quotes St. Augustine. St. Jerome, Arnobius, de l'Estoile, and an unknown Spanish writer—a companion, it is said, of Columbus—who is cited in Italian, although why not in Spanish does not appear. The author does not seem to recollect that the writings of the early fathers of the Church should only be read with the greatest caution when they profess to record the history of the times. They had an interest to blacken Roman Society and to contrast it with the usual purity of the Christians—they were partisans—hence very partial indeed. When St. Augustine assures us that "one of the most respectable Roman matrons crowned the Phallus in public"—a ceremony which must have been very rare

in the fourth century, considering—firstly, the religious indifference of Roman Society; and secondly, that Phallism was entirely extinct, if it had existed as a worship at all, at that period,—when we are told this, we *may* believe the ceremony of the coronation to have taken place, improbable as it seems; but the lady officiating must have been, not a respectable matron, but a prostitute—in the same manner that the Goddess of Reason of Robespierre, during the French Revolution, was personated by a woman of a loose character, to say the least. We must not forget that St. Augustine wrote his book as an answer to the accusations of the Romans against the Christian Roman Government, which had proved itself incapable of preventing the taking of Rome by Alaric. The father's reply was that the abominations of Roman Society were deserving of the punishment inflicted by the Barbarians; and, to make a good case of his pleading, he gleaned all that could be said against Pagan Rome, and exaggerated individual crimes or individual cases into vices universally pervading the whole community. In his eagerness to gather a long nomenclature of crimes, he sometimes lost his judgment altogether: he accepted as facts, and represented as crimes chargeable against Roman Society, the adventures of Lucius in the "Golden Ass" of Apuleius, and he took a laughable romance for a true story, admitting thereby his belief in the possibility of Lucius being changed into an ass. It is, however, historically and undoubtedly established that the morals of the Romans were never better than under the Antonines, the period during which Apuleius lived and which St. Augustine takes pains to make especially abominable.

Livy, it is true, speaks of the advisability of finding a remedy for the looseness of the morals in his time, but in every country there have been periods when it was necessary for the legislature to check vices. St. Jerome and Arnobius are quite as unreliable as St. Augustine. At Pompeii the Phalli found at the outward entrance of some houses with the inscription "*Hic habitat felicitas*," were not, as is taken for granted, protecting symbols, but merely signs to houses of tolerance. De l'Estoile speaks in his journal of St. Foutin, St. Vit, in France, as indicative of depravity, and Boudin takes these two Saints to be Phallic personifications, whereas the real fact is that Foutin is the mispronunciation and the misspelling of St. Photin who, Eusebius tells us, died a martyr at Lyons; and St. Vit is, in the same way, the corruption of St. Avit, Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, in the sixth century. In Mexico, after the anonymous journal of a supposed companion of Cortez, we are told in Italian:—"In certain countries they adore *il membro che portano gli uomini fra le gambe*." Why should we not rather follow the version of the best of all Spanish historians of the Conquest—De Solis? This author has sifted his facts and written his history on documents; he is very exact in describing the manners of all the American nations in contact with Cortez, but he does not say one word about Phallism, and certainly his authority is preferable to one which he himself has rejected, namely, that of the so-called companion of Cortez. And, moreover, if this journal be not the spurious production of a novel writer, this companion of Cortez was, no

doubt, an obscure man, since he left no signature to his book; he was not one of the officers, who are all known by name, and his records are those of a clever man, perhaps, but of a superficial observer; after all, he did not know the language, hence he must often have been mistaken by mere appearances. A Central African who would now visit Europe without knowing our history or our language would tell his countrymen upon his return home: "The Europeans adore and worship two pieces of wood crossed,"—for, deceived by what he would have seen in the churches, he would take for a God what is, in reality, a mere symbol. The Popol Vuh in no way whatever alludes to Phallism, so far as I recollect, and surely the sacred writings would if there had been a cause for it.

When Mr. Westropp adds something to Boudin, it is generally a mistake which he adds to those already known. He quotes a passage of Voltaire's writings as being an extract of *Cook's Journal*, whereas he should have given us *Cook's Journal* itself. Cook, after relating the religious ceremonies performed in the morning, which had absolutely nothing Phallic in them, says: "the day thus begun with acts of devotion, was concluded with those of lewdness (not in the temple, nor on the altar, as Voltaire says) exhibited by the natives by way of entertainment." That Voltaire should have written a lively tale about this in one of his philosophical "Romans" is not surprising, but that Mr. Westropp should have mistaken the humour and wit of Voltaire for Cook's relation—which, as everyone sees, conveys no idea of Phallism—is a proof of the author's indifference as to authorities. Leaving to others the task of criticising some other points of the paper, I regret to have to repeat that Mr. Westropp has not given us a single new fact nor a single good argument. A scientific paper should be something more than a string of assertions more or less indiscriminately collected. As regards Phallism, it seems to me that we certainly are not yet in a position to say whether it was a religion or a symbol, still less whether it was universal. It will require a large accumulation of facts, indeed, before we can arrive at anything like certainty on these points.

Dr. CHARNOCK said etymology was important in connection with the paper. Mr. Wake (citing Clemens Alexandrinus, who, by the bye, was not a first-rate authority) stated that the name Eve or Heva means a "female serpent." The derivative language was not given. The Hebrew name *Havvâh* was synonymous with the Greek name *Zwê*, and was from a verb signifying "to live." Again, the author of the paper stated that *set* in Hebrew, as well as in Egyptian, means a pillar; he identified *Seth* with the Phallic *Thoth*; *set*, by change of the initial letter, becoming *Tet*, one of the names of Thoth. The Coptic word for a pillar is *shêbi*, not *set*. The name *Thoth* had been by some compared with *Tent*, the German deity, and with *Θεός*, *Zeus*, the latter two words being of Sanskrit origin. Perhaps the most reasonable derivation of the name of the Egyptian deity was from the Memphitic *Iw7*, which in the Sahidic dialect is *Θw7*, and is equivalent to *pater*. The derivation of Baal-tamar is still more important. Mr. Wake rendered it "Baal is a pillar." The primitive meaning of Baal

is lord, master ; but the word is often found in local names, where it signifies a place, sanctuary, town. No doubt *tamar* was used for a column, but that was not the primitive meaning of the word : and Baal-tamar, which was the appellation of a place mentioned in Judges, could have no other meaning than "place of palm trees," with which might be compared Bildulgerid in Barbary, which in Arabic signified "town of date trees."

The following gentlemen also took part in the discussion :—Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. Bouverie-Pusey, Mr. Robert Des Ruffières, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Charlesworth, Mr. John Jones, Mr. Moncreux Conway, Mr. Walter Dendy, Rev. Mr. Buckle, Mr. McSweeney, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Avery, Mr. Rivington, and the Chairman.

The meeting then adjourned.

APRIL 19TH, 1870.

DR. BERTHOLD SEEMANN, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

John Colam, Esq., 105, Jermyn Street, St. James's ; and David Mitchell Henderson, Esq., 1, Carden Place, Aberdeen, and Old Calabar, West Africa, were elected Fellows. Dr. D. Lubach, of Kampen, Holland, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. A. L. LEWIS exhibited two Australian Skulls, lately placed by him in the Society's Museum.

A paper, by Mr. ALFRED SANDERS, was read "On Mr. Darwin's Hypothesis of Pangenesis as applied to the Faculty of Memory." (The paper will appear in full in the *Journal of Anthropology*).

[Abstract.]

The first question to be asked was—Is thought a function of the brain? The author answered it in the affirmative, and cited facts and appearances in physiology, anatomy, pathology, and physics in support of his opinion. Thought could not be considered as a product of the brain-cells any more than light could be produced by the cells of the retina, yet the brain-cells were necessary for the communication between the mind and the external and internal world, and were exhausted in the process of thinking and willing in the same manner as the cells of the retina were exhausted and required renewal in the process of seeing. Passing to the consideration of the faculty of memory, the author combated the theory of Mr. John Stuart Mill, that the mind is a series of feelings and nothing more, and that memory is an ultimate fact incapable of explanation. The remainder of the paper was devoted to the application of Mr. Darwin's hypothesis of Pangenesis, which the author maintained was capable of explaining the difficulty raised by Mr. Mill ; it being granted that the mental faculties depend upon the brain, and that the brain-cells give off self-propagating gemmules indefinitely, everything becomes plain. After

describing in detail the action of external impressions on the brain at different times in the life of an individual, some of the many conditions favourable or the reverse to the retention of such impressions, and the dormant and active states of the brain-cells, the author entered into a consideration of the growth of the supposed gemmules, their action at maturity, and their power of self-propagation.

Mr. KESTEVEN stated that he had undertaken to read Mr. Sanders' paper in his absence, simply for the reason that it contained many purely technical expressions, probably unintelligible to many present, which he, as a member of the medical profession, would be ready to explain, if requested so to do. He then remarked that, as he should have occasion to dissent entirely from the author's views, and to give the reasons for his difference of opinion, he thought it would be but right that he should, in the first place, put before his hearers a clear statement of what Darwin's hypothesis of Pangenesis is, that they might be able to judge how far it is possible to apply it to the explanation of the phenomena of memory. Mr. Kesteven then read the following extracts from Mr. Darwin's work* :—"Everyone would wish to explain to himself, even in an imperfect manner, how it is possible for a character possessed by some remote ancestor suddenly to reappear in the offspring; how the effects of increased or decreased use of a limb can be transmitted to the child; how the male sexual element can act, not solely on the ovule, but occasionally on the mother-form; how a limb can be reproduced on the exact line of amputation, with neither too much nor too little added; how the various modes of reproduction are connected, and so forth. I am aware that my view is merely a provisional hypothesis or speculation; but, until a better one be advanced, it may be serviceable by bringing together a multitude of facts which are at present left disconnected by any efficient cause. As Whewell, the historian of the inductive sciences, remarks :—"Hypotheses may often be of service to science, where they involve a certain portion of incompleteness, and even of error." Under this point of view, I venture to advance the Hypothesis of Pangenesis, which implies that the whole organisation, in the sense of every atom or unit, reproduces itself" (p. 357). "The cells or units of the body are generally admitted by physiologists to be autonomous, like the buds on a tree, but in a less degree. I go one step further, and assume that they throw off reproductive gemmules. Thus, an animal does not, as a whole, generate its kind through the sole agency of the reproductive system, but each separate cell generates its kind. It has been often said by naturalists that each cell of a plant has the actual or potential capacity of reproducing the whole plant; but it has this power only in virtue of containing gemmules derived from every part. If our hypothesis be provisionally accepted, we must look at all forms of a sexual reproduction, whether occurring at maturity or as in the case of alternate generation during youth, as fundamentally the same, and dependent on the mutual aggregation and multiplication of the gemmules" (p. 403). This "provisional hypothesis" assumes that the

* *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication.* By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., etc. Vol. II. 1868. Pp. 357 and 403.

development of each being "depends on the presence of gemmules thrown off at each period of life, and on their development at a corresponding period in union with preceding cells." This is wholly different from the hypothesis put forth by the author of the paper, which assumes the giving off of gemmules at irregular periods, in irregular numbers, and without further development, or organic relation, and union with other cells. There are, it is true, within the brain, as shown by the microscope, countless cells,* cell-nuclei, together with nerve-fibres and blood-vessels, but no trace of the alleged gemmules have been seen under the highest powers of the microscope. This is one reason why he must decline to adopt the conclusions of the author. Mr. Darwin, true philosopher as he is, with the caution of the philosophical naturalist, suggests a possible state of things to explain a known series of phenomena, but this is widely different from the transfer of what is thus modestly put forward to express a generally felt difficulty, to the confident and unhesitating explanation by a gratuitous assumption of one of the most obscure phenomena of mind. Mr. Kesteven further observed, as a reason for demurring to Mr. Sanders' explanation, that, in his opinion, it by no means so clearly and closely accounts for the phenomena of memory as that view which is now generally held by physiologists, viz., that there is truly a memory existing in every portion of the body. This has been well put by Dr. Maudsley in his lectures recently delivered before the College of Physicians. "In every nerve-cell there is memory, and not only so, but there is memory in every organic element of the body. The virus of small-pox or of syphilis makes its mark on the constitution for the rest of life. We may forget it, but it will not forget us, though, like the memory of an old man, it may fade and become faint with advancing age. The manner in which the scar of a cut in a child's finger is perpetuated, and grows as the body grows, evinces, as Mr. Paget has pointed out, that the organic element of the part remembers the change which it has suffered. Memory is the organic registration of the effects of impressions, the organisation of experience, and to recollect is to revive this experience—to call the organised residue into functional activity." All the phenomena of reflex nervous action show it. To mention one instance: a frog that has had its head cut off will, if any irritant substance be applied to its hind legs, make the ordinary efforts to wipe off the irritation. In injuries to the head, in fevers, and in delirium, as mentioned by the author, thought and memory are suspended and held in abeyance. But this is not all—in fevers, in delirium, in insanity, words and language have been known to have been recalled, although all memory of them had been lost for many years, or for nearly a whole life before. This revival of dormant mental impressions constitutes those mental states that have been somewhat metaphorically called "brain photographs." The speaker here related several cases of this kind, and again quoted Dr. Maudsley in support of his view. "In a brain that is not disorganised the organic registrations are never actually forgotten, but endure while

* Mr. Kesteven had on the table a microscope and numerous sections of brain, spinal cord, etc., to show their structure.

life lasts ; no wave of oblivion can efface their characters. Consciousness, it is true, may be impotent to recall them ; but a fever, a blow on the head, a poison in the blood, a dream, the agony of drowning, the hour of death, rending the veil between our present consciousness and these inscriptions, will sometimes call vividly back, in a momentary flash, much that seemed to have vanished from the mind for ever. In the deepest and most secret recesses of mind, there is nothing hidden from the individual self, or from others, which may not be thus sometimes accidentally revealed." Mr. Kesteven concluded by expressing his regret that Mr. Sanders was not present to defend his thesis, since, for the foregoing reasons, he could not but regard it as wholly wanting in proofs, inconsistent with known facts, and a misapplication of an hypothesis legitimately advanced by Mr. Darwin (provisionally only) to explain the known facts of reproduction.

The Rev. DUNBAR I. HEATH said that this paper contained a well-considered application of Darwin's theory of Pangenesis. Now, the first necessity would, of course, be to understand what this famous theory really is. When the theory itself is mastered, the application of it will more easily follow. The essence, then, of Pangenesis is that, instead of the embryo or ovum being the production of a gland called the ovarium, it is the production of the whole body. Every unit of the body produces its seed or gemmule. The genesis is not ovarian genesis it is pan-genesis, or the genesis of the whole. The conception that a gland should secrete out of human blood the seed of a human being is rude and rough ; and, moreover, it affords no explanation at all of the likeness of each being to its ancestors. We have been made familiar lately by Dr. Lionel Beale and others with some of the phenomena of protoplasmic units. They live, they grow, they die. Add, then, the further conception that they propagate, or throw off gemmules. These gemmules are free gemmules, circulating by thousands of millions in the blood. It will be said that if this be so they will be cast out of the body with other useless or used matter. But no matter is cast out except by its proper method. Carbonic acid by the lungs, perspiration by the skin, and so on. The refuge or landing stage for the gemmules is in the ovarium. Here the same reasons which constituted neighbouring protoplasmic units in any part of the body to be neighbours would cause the gemmules deduced from those units to be neighbours also. The muscle unit, the nerve unit, the bone unit of the finger, for example, send out their free gemmules, and muscle gemmules, nerve gemmules, and bone gemmules become neighbours in the ovarium, and are surrounded by albumen and fat, and thus form the germ. Ancestral gemmules, actually derived from the blood of ancestors, find their way into this resting place, and account for atavism or ancestral likenesses. Whatever may be thought of this theory, said Mr. Heath, it is at any rate the only one hitherto given to account at all for the facts. This property it has, in common with Darwin's other great theory of change of species by natural selection, no other theory worth speaking of exists to account for the phenomena. The application of this theory made in the paper to the phenomena of

memory is simple and comprehensible, and it, too, is alone in the field as the phenomena have never otherwise been accounted for.

Mr. GEORGE ST. CLAIR was convinced that Mr. Darwin in his theory expressed a great truth; but he thought that the author of the paper did not support the theory in the right sense.

The discussion was further sustained by Dr. Langdon Down, Mr. Dendy, Dr. Ellis, M. Robert Des Ruffières, and the Chairman.

In reply to the several speakers, Mr. KESTIVEN stated that he declined the challenge to discuss the nature of mind in the abstract; the author of the paper having narrowed its limits to the materialistic view, it would be beyond its scope to open up the metaphysical argument. To the statement that thought is a function of the brain, it had been objected that, if it were so, it should be subject to measurement in like manner as the blood and the air, with reference to the functions of the heart and lungs. He would remark that thought, as the function of the brain, was capable of measurement, inasmuch as the gradual manifestation of mental acts was traceable *pari passu* with the appearance of traces of a nervous system, and that with the greater development and complication of this in accordance with increasing complexity of surrounding conditions, the more distinct becomes the manifestation of mind, until the highest form is reached. That where no brain or its analogue exists, there is no thought, and that where brain is oppressed, as in disease, or by injury, thought is effaced or suspended. Therefore, in this sense of the word, thought is susceptible of measurement. He might, therefore, affirm that it was physiologically exact to say that thought is a function of the brain. Referring to the experiment with the decapitated frog, allusion was made to the statements recently made in the newspapers as to the mental phenomena said to have been exhibited by the heads of decapitated criminals. The answer was that, even if true, they were but instances of the reflex or involuntary movements to be seen in the lower forms of animal life; but it could not be said that such movements were signs of mind, or proofs of consciousness of pain. It should, however, be borne in mind that as Mr. G. H. Lewes had stated—other like experiments had altogether failed to produce any such results.

There can be no doubt that the influence of Mr. Darwin's writings and researches had been immense—indeed incalculable—but some limitation should be put to the appropriation of his authority by every wild theorist. The doctrine of "natural selection," for instance, is widely different from his provisional theory of "pangensis," and is so treated by Mr. Darwin himself—the one he lays down as his deliberate conclusion from a vast array of facts; the other he hesitatingly puts forward as a suggestion that may, perhaps, solve a difficulty. Even in this hypothesis the gemmules are restricted to the reproduction of their kind—*i.e.* of the structures whence they emanate; they are not by Mr. Darwin charged with the function of giving rise to a train of phenomena wholly of another kind, as is the case in the application thereof by Mr. Sanders, an application which, after all, does but restate the abstruse nature of that endowment which we term memory.

Mr. GEORGE C. THOMPSON contributed the following note on "Con-sanguineous Marriages":

The question to be solved is—"Is there any occult malign influence in the fact of blood-relationship between parents, the effects of which exhibit themselves in the offspring in a variety of ways?" If the arguments, by which the theory of the occult influence are supported, are examined, they will, I think, be mostly found to come under one of the following types:—

1. A and B, being cousins, marry, and have so many diseased children.

2. In such and such an asylum n per cent. of the inmates are children of blood-relations, while marriages between such relations are (assumed to be) m per cent. of all marriages—(n , of course, being a much greater number than m).

Instances of the first type are calculated powerfully to affect the imagination, but can hardly be considered of much scientific value.

With regard to the second type, the blood-relationship of parents appears to be regarded in a very wide sense on the one hand, and on the other there appear to be no reliable means employed of ascertaining the value of m ; and there is nothing to shew that if relationships as distant were recognised in one case as in the other, there would be any discrepancy between m and n .

Some time ago the French prefects were directed to register the degree of relationship (where any existing) between persons marrying. I am not aware if the results have been published; but they could no doubt be obtained on application to the proper quarter. From a daily examination of the marriages announced in the *Times* for a period of about two months, I found that in just about one per cent. of the whole number the family names of bride and bridegroom were the same. To arrive at the percentage of cousin marriages, this figure (after making a small deduction to allow for those cases in which identity of name is fortuitous) must be multiplied by some number expressing the ratio of the whole number of a man's marriageable cousins to those of them bearing the same surname as himself. What this number may be is not very easy to calculate; but, taking the above data for what they are worth, there would appear nothing improbable in marriages of cousins, up to children of the same great great-grandfather, being eight or ten per cent. of all marriages. This is a much higher figure than that assumed by Mr. Mitchell, who says the average of cousin marriages in Great Britain is probably not more than one in sixty or seventy (see vol. ii, *Memoirs Anthropological Society*). If, however, after every verification has been applied, the number n is still found to be greater than m —this does not necessarily prove the existence of the occult influence, as the phenomenon may be accounted for by the principle of inheritance. Suppose one hundred families, or tribes, two of which are tainted with a certain tendency (x) which, when inherited from both parents, becomes some specific evil, say (x^2). Suppose, further, that each tribe contains one hundred men, and that these marry—one within his own tribe, and the others into each of the ninety-nine stranger tribes.

Then, there will be in all ten thousand marriages, of which one hundred, or one per cent., will be between relations, so to speak (x^2) will occur in four instances—once in the marriage within each of the tainted tribes, and twice in the intermarriages between them—that is, *half* of the persons exhibiting (x^2) will be children of relations, while marriages between such relations are only one per cent. of the whole.

I believe the way to the solution of the problem lies in the collection and examination of crucial instances bearing upon the following points :—

1. When the defects commonly attributed to relationship of the parents are exhibited, are the germs of these defects traceable in the parents or their families?

2. When the medical pedigree of the parents is faultless, are the children sound and healthy?

3. When any particular excellence occurs in the parents' family, is it transmitted to the children in increased force?

Some of the members of the Society could probably supply materials for an investigation based on some such principles as I have indicated, and I trust the importance of the subject may lead to its being undertaken.

Dr. LANGDON DOWN said that, after an examination of five thousand persons with reference to the question of interbreeding, he had arrived at the conclusion that the practice was not only not necessarily injurious, but that, by methodical and judicious selection in the marriage of relations, an improved race of men might be obtained. He had examined closely into the antecedent histories of a large number of cases, in which the supposed cause of deterioration was consanguineous union of parents, but in nearly all he had been able to establish sufficient cause for the deterioration other than the relationship. Doubtless, where there was constitutional taint, the intermarriage of relations tended to intensify the evil in the offspring.

Capt. BLAIR cited in support of that view the case of a people on the Ganges, while other speakers adduced conflicting evidence.

The papers for the next meeting, May 3rd, were announced, and the meeting adjourned.

MAY 3RD, 1870.

DR. R. S. CHARNOCK, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

Moore A. Cuffe, Esq., LL.D., 9, Camden Crescent, Bath, was elected a Fellow.

The following list of presents was read, and the thanks of the meeting were voted to the respective donors; viz.,

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the SOCIETY.—Transactions of the Geological Society of Glasgow, vol. iii, part 2.

From the EDITOR.—Nature, to date.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 118.

From the AUTHOR.—Insanity in Wiltshire. By Dr. Thurnam.

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 2, 1870.

From the ASSOCIATION.—Journal of the East India Association, vol. iv, No. 1.

From the EDITOR.—The Food Journal.

From the EDITOR.—Scientific Opinion, to date.

From the SOCIETY.—Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, vol. iv, f. 4, 1869.

FOR THE MUSEUM.

From A. L. LEWIS, Esq.—Two Aboriginal Australian Skulls.

Lieut.-Colonel W. ROSS KING, F.R.G.S., read a paper entitled "The Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills." (The paper appeared in full in the *Journal of Anthropology* for July 1870.)

[Abstract.]

The author, who was three years among the Nilgiri tribes, viz., the Khotas, Erulas, and Kurumbas, described in turn the characteristic features and peculiarities of each, with detailed information as to their very curious social customs, and religious rites and ideas; showing the marked distinctions existing in every point between tribes occupying the same area, and in constant communication with each other; pointing out the fact that each people retained its own language; and their remarkable isolation from the surrounding enormous population of the plains. The striking similarity between the rites, practices, and monuments of the Todas and those of the ancient Celts of Britain was shewn; a passing allusion was made to the evidences of an early western migration as traceable through intervening countries in the existence of similar rites and customs; and the presence on the Nilgiri hills of Druidical circles, cromlechs, kistvaens, and tumuli, precisely similar to those so well-known in our own country, was described. While commenting on the analogies thus apparent between the ancient Celts, and some of the Hill Tribes, the author took occasion also to remark on their similarities in other respects to the Jews of old, to the Kaffirs, and to the ancient Romans, not as being likely to lead to any theory of origin in those quarters, but as possibly qualifying the re-

liance to be placed on every point of Celtic resemblance. In conclusion, the author, who illustrated his paper by the exhibition of several drawings, and of some interesting native ornaments, etc., summed up the various theories prevailing as to the probable origin of these tribes, of whose history we are still so ignorant, and recommended the subject to the Society as one worthy of their investigation.

The CHAIRMAN said the author of the paper spoke of the Nilgiri as "*otherwise* called the Blue Mountains of the Deccan." Now, the name itself was a Sanskrit compound signifying "Blue Mountains." Major King mentioned five hill tribes of the Nilgiri. Other writers gave the same number; but called two of these Buddagur and Gohata, which were perhaps the original forms of the names *Vadaca* and *Kokta*. It was stated that the Khotas eat dead cattle and putrid flesh, and that the Erulas sacrifice a cock to propitiate evil spirits. Many other peoples were fond of carrion, especially the gipsies, and it seemed to agree with them very well. The Greeks sacrificed cocks. Socrates offered up a cock to *Æsculapius*. Polyandry was formerly practised by the people of Taprobane, and by many African tribes mentioned by ancient writers, as Herodotus, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Solinus, and Diodorus Siculus. As Dr. Seemann had remarked, the custom was also anciently in vogue in Great Britain. It was so stated by Cæsar. With respect to the Roman coins found in the Deccan, Alexander did not get farther than the Punjab; Seleucus penetrated to the banks of the Ganges. The coins in question, no doubt, found their way into the Deccan by other means. Before the foundation of Alexandria, the trade with India was carried on by the Arabs of Malabar, with the Arabs of Hadramaut, and also with the Phœnicians, by way of the Persian Gulf. After the foundation of Alexandria, it was almost entirely in the hands of the Alexandrine merchants, who traded between Berenice, on the Red Sea, and Mangalore, on the Malabar Coast, to which port the wares of the East were brought by native traders; and it was probably by these means that the coins in question found their way into the Deccan, a term, by the bye, properly applicable to the whole of Hindûstan south of the Nerbudda. The migration of the Celts from Hindûstan to the West was mere conjecture, the statement not being supported by any evidence whatever. On the contrary, it was a matter of history that the Galli crossed into Asia Minor, where they were, by the Greeks, called Galati, and the country they inhabited Galatia. If the Celtic peoples had originated in India, they would have left vestiges in the geographical names, none of which could be traced to any of the Celtic languages. On the other hand, that they had, at some time or other, occupied nearly the whole of Europe, was proved by the fact, that most of the river names are of Celtic origin. The so-called Druidical remains in India and elsewhere might be the work of any people. There was at present no evidence that the dolmen, etc., were erected by the Celts; and, indeed, it had not yet been satisfactorily proved what were the purposes for which they had been erected. It had been attempted to show that the Celtic dialects were derived from an oriental source; but it was doubtful whether any Celtic

words could be traced to the Asiatic, except through the Greek, Latin, and derivative languages.

Mr. Lewis, Mr. Bouverie-Pusey, Captain Blair, Dr. Seemann, and Mr. Dendy, also took part in the discussion.

The author then replied, and the meeting adjourned.

MAY 19TH, 1870.

(Held at St. James's Hall.)

DR. BERTHOLD SEEMANN, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the previous meeting having been read,

THE CHAIRMAN said: This is the first time in the annals of this Society that the Chairman is able to welcome at its meeting the fairer portions of mankind; and their presence is a proof that they do not think us quite as black as we have been painted. As a Society which has for its object the whole study of man, individually and collectively, we have had to deal with questions of great political and social importance; and, in discussing them, may have given pain where none was meant to be given. As a Society, we have no opinions whatsoever on any anthropological topic; but we claim absolute freedom of discussion of any subject that falls within our legitimate province. The subject brought forward to-night is, fortunately, one that will call forth no angry passions, no party feeling, no religious rancour. Music has been termed a universal art, and with good reason. We find it practised from the earliest ages to our own times, and from the equator to the poles; and as yet no nation has been met with that is an entire stranger to it. Music has also been called, but with much less good reason, a universal language. That every feeling which agitates the human heart, good or bad, can be expressed in music, or that we can concentrate greater intensity of feeling in a single musical note than in pages of writing, few will venture to dispute. But it is quite an open question whether it is a universal language, understood by all mankind alike. I make bold to doubt whether, even amongst the nations of Western Europe, intimately connected, as they are, by close and frequent intercourse, the music of the one is interpreted in the same sense by the others. By travelling eastwards we find that there is certainly a different language of music. Songs of joy, and even dance-accompaniments, are no longer, as with us, in the major keys, but always in the minor. Proceed still further eastwards, to the Indies, and you have to endure, in listening to the people's music, a monotony almost unbearable to European modes of thought. Continue your journey amongst the great Mongolian races, and the bulk of what you have to listen to is positively painful to your ear; and your greatest puzzle is how what is so painful to you should give positive pleasure to them. Again, cross over to America, and you find the aborigines uttering musical

sounds, no doubt full of meaning to them, but altogether unintelligible to us, and to our habits of thinking without any ending. Mr. Chorley, whose long study of the subject peculiarly qualifies him for the task, has undertaken to read to-night a paper on "Race in Music", which an eminent artist, Mr. Dannreuther, has kindly consented to illustrate. It has cost us no little persuasion to induce Mr. Chorley to consent to compress a subject so vast into so small a compass; but he *has* said *A*, and you shall now hear yourself when he says *B*.

Mr. HENRY F. CHORLEY then read the following paper, on

Race in Music.

Every one recollects Madame de Stael's famous request to some philosopher or metaphysician newly introduced to her:—"Tell me your system in ten words", said she. I have been reminded of her speech every hour since I have undertaken to handle the subject of national music within the compass of a single lecture. It is only an Ariel who can put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes. I trust that the difficulty will be taken into account by my audience; and that, if what I offer to them seem flimsy, the fault may be laid to inevitable circumstances, and not to flippant negligence on my part, when presenting myself to a society of such solidity and importance as that which I have the honour to address. I had already treated the subject within wider limits; having, some years ago, presented a course of lectures on it at the Royal Institution. But I have not referred to the literary materials I then gathered, nor am I about to offer you an abridgment of past discourses. My opinions remain unchanged, the subject having undergone no new developments in the interim. And I say this with some confidence, because, in the most valuable book recently published on the matter, by Herr Engel, a sound musician (whereas I am only an amateur), I find such a general coincidence of views with those I presented, as to encourage the opinion, that all persons who search honestly into the question must arrive at the same conclusions.

Having prepared my lectures for publication, I have purposely kept them back, with the view of enriching them with additions. But these present themselves sparingly, though the matter of my discourse is re-arranged. I shall offer few, if any, new illustrations; and, having examined more than three thousand tunes on the former occasion, I do not conceive that I could much amend the selection, as illustrating my meaning.

I assure you that I have been totally unable to satisfy myself in the fulfilment of this engagement. I do not say this to deprecate criticism or censure, because all pleadings of the kind are as paltry as the proceeding of the reduced Irish gentlewoman, who cried muttonpies, in the streets of Dublin, in a soft voice, adding "I hope nobody hears me", but to explain that I have found the subject too impracticable in its width of scope for any hands to grasp within the short time allotted to me. What I offer, then, are fragments, not a completely cemented narrative—fancies, rather than theories. I shall be grateful if I can be listened to, with reference to what I have said.

Let me begin with an expression of due and deep gratitude, for the benefits which every student of such a subject as I am touching to-night must derive from the researches of thoroughly instructed men. But I cannot forbear from following this up by speculating on a point which, I fancy, has been too much overlooked, in respect to the authenticity of ancient records. Has it not been too largely taken for granted that the pictures in eastern, or southern, or northern tombs and temples are to be relied on as technically exact representations? The strings of pictured harps have been counted; and theories as to their scale and compass consequently stated, as if the above pictures were so many daguerrotypes. Now, I would submit that, if one accessory part of a picture be faithful, the other more principal features should be assumed so likewise. I would ask any one of my audience, by personal travel and anthropological research made more experienced than myself, to accredit the strange groups of figures in the tombs and in the temples of the East, or on the plates from the Chinese ovens. In one of the latter—I happen to be the happy possessor of the specimen—the picture is of a delicious creature, with a round face and no practicable feet, who is withheld from an elopement with as languidly delicious a gentleman as herself, by a father protruding from the upper window of a pagoda, who arrests her, by grasping her ankle—across a small canal-bridge half a mile off!—I do not believe in the literal truth of delineations of humanity, male or female, as derived from such productions; therefore, I do not accept the number of strings counted as canonical to the Egyptian harps, on the authority of incomplete painters. We know, from our own ancient missals, how every representation is traditional; let sincere hearts have urged careful hands ever so earnestly. The cyclamen flower—the *herba benedicta*—was indicated in their florid borders. Put which, among the most experienced of botanists (I speak to the Chair), would venture to discourse botanically on the strength of such pictured records? Inasmuch as I have felt this difficulty—I have felt always the impossibility of theorising or systematising on the strength of the evidence furnished by idealising recorders. Literal truth in the notation of Art is a possession which the world has gained but recently—it may be, at the expense of blind faith and imagination. We may have no more such pictures as Albert Durer and Memling painted—where the expression of the faces is so immortally admirable—and yet in which the great mystery of the Crucifixion would be represented as passing under the shelter of a grim Gothic town, with its fortresses, and drawbridges, and balconies, and men in quaint armour. But who, for the sake of Durer's and Memling's beautiful types, and noble heads, and muscular figures, would accept the record as historical? I venture to apply this argument to the preposterous harps played by men, almost as preposterously clad, on the walls of the Egyptian buildings. I will go to the hazardous length of disbelieving in the small lyres handled so gracefully by the undraped figures who deck the Etruscan vases. I do not conceive that the ancients sat in windy porticos, unclad, and preluding on tortoise-shells having only a few strings; therefore, I question the authority of the musical records left in the tombs and temples of the Nile. And I am bolder

than I might otherwise have been to express incredulity, since I have seen that such fancies have been perpetuated in our own day as symbolical myths;—and by no artist more deservedly distinguished than my valued and admired friend, Mr. Leighton, in his picture of “Orpheus”. The very thing which gives to imaginative art so much of its poetry, at the expense of its matter-of-fact evidence, is its idealisation of literal truth. I know that by what I say I make myself liable to be charged with cynicism and heresy; but it is better to bear the blame, than to withhold sincere and deliberate conviction on a subject of some importance.

The difficulty of arriving at anything approaching a clear knowledge of what national music really is, will be found by the diligent student far greater than he may have expected at the outset of his researches. Judging from modern experience, notation, which is comparatively a modern art, cannot be accepted with too great caution. We have seen in our own times a press error, now distinctly proved as such, in Beethoven's C-minor *Symphony*, wrangled for and defended as a stroke of genius by the fanatical admirers of a great master. And, if a poet can unconsciously allow his poem to go forth to the world thus debased by an excrescence, how are we to trust the correctness of the larger number of collectors from whom our knowledge of national music has been principally derived?—many of them amateurs, little used to the exercise of those hard, uncompromising faculties which go to the substantiation of evidence; many of them ladies not much in the habit of notation, having more imagination than judicial accuracy, and too willing to forget that, among singers and players not scientifically cultivated, vagaries and changes of the moment born, or referable to the weakness or courage of the executant—are of constant and perplexing recurrence.

Then, by the simple variation of *tempo*, implying some changes in accentuation, a melody can be so entirely transformed as to lose its original character. Many a gentlewoman has sung Scottish songs all her life, and has not adverted to the fact that the battle-tune, “Scots wha hae”, and the pathetic death-bed song, “The Land of the leal”, are identical, save in the manner of performance and the words with which they are mated. I have been present when, for a wager, an impertinent young person played the delicious pastoral melody from the *Messiah*, “He shall feed his flock”, as the tune to “La Poule”, the third figure in the first set of quadrilles which was imported from France. The irreverent proceeding passed without detection, and yet there was hardly one in ten of the dancers who would not have scouted the idea of unacquaintance with Handel's sacred Oratorio. The extent to which the composers have availed themselves of this notorious fact—whether consciously or unconsciously matters little—could hardly be overstated.

Further intercourse, and with it the suggestions of cultivated and civilised travellers, can hardly fail, more or less, to tell upon even the most uninformed and uninstructed ears, and to present itself in the form of unconscious repetition, if not plagiarism. When the band of the Pasha of Egypt exhibited itself at the International Exhibition in

London, it was curious to detect how many phrases and fragments from the most common-place and modern French and English tunes were to be heard, with barbarous condiments (if the figure may be allowed) sufficient to deceive all save those listening for a purpose, and with some powers of recollection and comparison. So, again, in a very large collection of negro tunes which I examined some years ago, I was struck by phrases of such known melodies as "The Blue Bells of Scotland" and "Cherry Ripe", recurring so clearly, as to render the theory of coincidences visionary and strained beyond the bounds of reasonable faith. The imitative powers of the negro, I believe, are owned to be very great; and, if the voice of the planter's wife singing could be heard by the servants in the house or listening on the verandah, what so natural as that the melody should be somehow represented and transmitted from mouth to mouth, from pipe to pipe—transmitted with a difference?

At the very moment when I was writing this paragraph, my pen was stopped in obedience to the noisy proceedings of a troop of those minstrels so dear to Professor Babbage; a German brass band—not worse than such blatant orchestras usually are. One of the tunes, which at once chafed me and compelled me to listen, was for a moment strange, yet not absolutely unknown. I had to think twice before I became aware that it was a free arrangement of Meyerbeer's Coronation March in *Le Prophète*, containing one of the most explicitly defined melodies and rhythms that could be found in the library of music, ancient or modern. The amount of curious novelty and distortion caused by the audacious and illicit proceeding would have driven the composer—that most sensitive and punctilious of men when his own music was in question—into a frenzy of irritation and indigestion.

If what I have said has any root in truth or any thread of sequence, it will prepare you for the statement of my impression, that genuine, fresh, original national music exists in much smaller quantity than has been heretofore believed; and that its character has been the most marked wherever intercourse has been the most sparing and restricted.

I could devote a discourse to this one subject alone, which, I think, has never been sufficiently explored and wrought out; but can here merely offer my strong and fixed conviction of its very great importance, and recommend it earnestly to the study of every one desiring to examine the origin of cultivated music in its national sources.

Service, as distinct from sacred music, comes within the sphere of this discourse—the first belonging to a direct devotional obedience; the second illustrating the moods of holy meditation—even as a Hymn to be presented as part of a rite is essentially set apart from an epic, such as Milton's *Paradise Lost*; even as a Mass, with its priests at the altar and its scenic decorations, differs in its incitements and the impressions it produces from such sublime poems as Handel's *Messiah* and *Israel*.

The distinction betwixt what is mystical and congregational, betwixt what is represented and what is partaken of in sacred and service music, cannot be too clearly borne in mind, let the religious be-

lief be what it may. The chorus in the orchestra of a Roman Catholic church and the hymn of pilgrims as they wend their way across the Appennines (so picturesquely imitated by M. Berlioz) or cluster in Danube boats which are to convey them to the superb palace monasteries of Austria, have characters and functions entirely different in their qualities. I confess that even such a highly wrought and scenic exhibition, as one finds prepared in the cathedral at Cologne, or in St. Stephen's at Vienna—that dark church, where the candles and the films and clouds of incense before the silver altar make up a picture at once so gorgeous and dreamy—is to me less directly moving than the simpler music, whether unisonal or in parts, which I have heard in Lutheran and Calvinistic churches, those in Holland being especially remembered,—so hearty without vulgarity; or that coarse exaggeration which did—but does no longer—offend in the congregational psalmody of our own dissenting chapels. I have a particular recollection of a Sunday morning's service in the great and lofty church at Delft, the gorgeously decorated organ of which is almost an edifice in itself. The concord and consent of the singers' voices was like "the sound of many waters", giving an impression of heartiness in prayer and praise never to be forgotten.

How this Protestant element of national worship could be turned to account in formal and scientific musical works may be seen in the oratorios and services of Sebastian Bach. In these, whenever a psalm tune, or *Corale* (as it is now foolishly fashionable to call a religious melody), occurred, the congregation was expected, and accustomed, to swell the strain, and hence—to digress for one moment—has resulted a loss of effect when these noble works have been presented in this country as sacred concert music—such support and filling up being, of course, out of the question under changed circumstances;—so that the consequence is a weariness and disappointment not to be felt in Handel's mighty oratorios, exclusively calculated for orchestra and chorus, in which the audience take the part of sympathy only, not of participation.

Among what is presumed to be the most ancient service music in existence is that of the Synagogue; but, so far as I have been able to examine it or to form any conjecture, the result is one of confusion and inconsistency. Many of the Hebrew chants are in the most irregular form of recitative, getting little beyond the wildest of wild cries, which, I have ventured to think, owe their existence to accident.

No doubt, the earliest specimens on record—due caution being repeated against any implicit trust in chronology as regards music—are these chants. When King David danced before the Ark, it is hard to conceive in what measures he could have moved so as to keep time to such strains of doleful wailing, as these sequences of sound must appear to modern ears. The primitive chant is merely an instinctive device to give vocal declamation variety and animation in delivering the spoken prayer or message, and rest to the voice of the priest as well as to the ears of the people. There is, possibly, no exercise of human ingenuity so difficult as the maintenance of a monotone. Extempore preachers, who labour under the extreme difficulty

of incomplete preparation, and must think of matter rather than manner, are apt to sing.

Those who are interested to follow the subject further cannot do better than examine the very interesting collection made by Mr. Aguilar and the Rev. Rabbi de Sola of the tunes of the Spanish and Portuguese Hebrews. But, in the midst of these wandering airs, which can only leave the most vague impressions possible, we are confronted by specimens astounding in their symmetry and the absence of that crudity which is largely distinctive of early music. Here, to illustrate the latter, is a Hebrew chant, which, I presume, could not have been accompanied by "trumpets also, and shawms", so irregular is it in form. And yet, from the very same collection, is derived a hymn, reputed to be the song of triumph on the passage of the Red Sea by the chosen people. You will at once perceive that it bears no trace of antiquity in interval or irregularity of rhythm.

So noble a tune as this—one so complete in its conformity with every modern requisition and discovery in the matter of melody—calls on a stretch of faith to which I confess myself unequal. It is hardly overpassed in musical effect by that noblest of strains of sacred triumph in a miracle—I mean the song of Miriam, with chorus, that closes Handel's *Israel*, "Sing ye unto the Lord for he hath triumphed gloriously."

To return. I find a trace of this noble melody in the "Song of the Three Magi", which is in Herr Engel's collection (p. 279), and which is still popular, he assures us, at Epiphany in certain parts of Germany.

The tunes of association have a large and distinct place in national music; but this, again, has its restrictions and exemptions. For instance, neither France nor Italy have anything to show analogous to the guild and student songs of Germany. The Madrigal belongs to the south, though it early took a firm root in this land of ours. But the Madrigal is a richly elaborate composition, fitted for the Pam-pineas and Fiordelisas whom Boccaccio assembled in his *Decameron* garden, rather than such a piece of artless and spontaneous song as one finds put forth by the German guilds, whether the same be of artificers, or of students, or of soldiers. The heartiness of these—their composition or their execution referred to—has no peer in music. It would be hard, even in the Tarantella of burning Southern Italy, to find a more vivid and explicit expression of nationality in music. The German men have not pleasing voices, so much as strenuous and strong ones;—and thus, as trained chorus singers, they cannot compare with those of our own Northern England, such as are to be heard in all their splendour at the provincial festivals, such as used to be imported to London in coach-loads, for the use of Ancient Concerts and Lent oratorios held in theatres, long before railways were thought of, long before such admirable institutions as the Sacred Harmonic Society and other choral societies adorned the metropolis. But the German songs are, in their force and simplicity and the cordiality of their execution, resistless. Some are of Swabian and Styrian origin; these mostly partaking of the nature of the dance, in triple

measure. Some are the settings of spirit-stirring lyrics by such poets as Körner, Schiller, and Goethe,—by composers of no less mark than Beethoven—(best of all) Weber,—and Mendelssohn. I wish I had a *verein* at my command, such as I have heard in the pretty wood of Schwanheim, near Frankfort, to offer you a specimen; though it is true that the concord of voices might be rather too forcibly disturbing in this our locality. And heard with translated words the effect is starved and strange. In years past, I bestowed some labour in trying to render equivalents such as could be sung without alteration to the rhythm of the music, and with reference to the preservation of the ideas. The result was generally unsatisfactory. “To each his own.” I can never bear to hear Handel’s sacred oratorios, written on our glorious Biblical text, or his *Sampson*, or his *Acis*, sung in German. As little can I admire a minuet danced, by what some old Frenchman described as “English awkwardness, on two left legs.” As little can I endure an Italian perversion of *Fidelio* or *Der Freischütz*. Our home glees are pleasant, when they are not too somnolently warbled without reference to tone, not to tune; but, in no respect do they offer an equivalent for the strong, stirring, muscular songs of the German “table books.”

It must not be lost sight of that Music in no respect has kept pace or proportion with art and manufacture. Look at the exquisite tissues of India, look at the perfect colours and pellucid texture of Chinese porcelain, look at the forms of the bronze vases from Japan, in harmony and elegance rivalling the best specimens from the Etruscan tombs—then listen to the hideous cacophony accepted by the orientals for sweet sounds, and the disproportion in all its amazing magnitude must suggest itself, to the entire confusion of all those pleasing theorists who have legislated on the plea of the connection of the arts. It is idle to say that Music is a thing of mere fashion and convention. If the eye can comprehend the gorgeous and harmonious mixtures of ancient colour, the beauty of ancient form, to which attention has been drawn, the ear is surely as sensible to the sweetness of a chain of harmonious tones and a monotonous screech of hideous voices. In districts where civilisation has worn the simplest forms, melody has developed itself of a wild purity and sweetness exceeded at no later period of sophisticated manners, or intellectual culture, or luxurious appliances. The primitive melodies of the far North, and of our own three kingdoms, many of which appear to be of great antiquity, will last as long as music shall last; whereas the ear turns away with repugnance from most of the music which delights the Orientals. Where they show any sense for Music, it is confined to rhythm, and seldom includes beauty of sound or symmetry of form.

One or two exceptions, however, present themselves, and among these is the stately Chinese hymn, in honour of the ancestors, which Herr Engel assures us was, or is, in high request on occasions and anniversaries when the dead are remembered. I presume it to have been unisonal, since, from its being in the pentatonic scale, it would be difficult to imagine it harmonised. There are three strophes, divided by an interval of service and rest.

The most beautiful and symmetrical national airs that we possess are those that come from the North. Norway, Denmark, Sweden, but, above all, Russia, have yielded some admirable tunes to the world. That there is a rude and original taste for art among these people, till within a comparatively recent period little leavened by intercourse with travellers from the South, may be seen in the curious Norwegian cups festooned with coins; in the Russian attempts at *niello* in plates and mosaics, at least as suggestive of genius as the Italian pictures by Cimabue and Margaritone, in which, nevertheless, the art of painting was revived among a people highly civilised and rich in monuments of a glorious and noble past. How far these may, or may not, be of Byzantine origin, may be left to persons more deeply versed in those branches of art than myself to decide. But, at all events, seeing that no Byzantine melodies, as we understand the word, have come down to us, whereas we have a host of excellent tunes to be sung and to be danced from regions to which travellers rarely penetrated, and, moreover, owning no resemblance whatever to the national airs of other countries, it may be deduced, I think, that the Northerners take a high, I may say the very highest, place among the peoples of the earth to whom melody was known long ago. With little exception, it may be noted that these Northern airs are in minor keys—it might be fancied an expression of, rather than a protest against, the gloom of the climate and scenery—were not the same a characteristic largely marking early national music be the zone torrid or arctic. This might be thought at complete variance with brisk dancing, if not to the slow voluptuous attitudinising in which the Orientals delight.

Among the most remarkable specimens of national music that we possess, are the tunes of Servia and of Wallachia—of the countries where the East and West may be said to have met, and, by meeting, the one to have influenced the other without any annulling of individuality. There is a curious gipsy *twang* about them, which may at once imply cause and effect: an imperfect tradition carried hither and thither on imperfect instruments, but with, also, a tone, and a twirl, and a thrill in them, that have possibly fortuitously got together and, by their union, produced a type and a style of art which is neither Eastern nor Western.

There is one form of national music not to be overlooked, by its peculiar character brought more intimately within the verge of mechanical science than any other which could be possibly named—the music from “high places”—to use the scriptural phrase—from spires and steeples: the music of chimes and bells. The exceeding picturesqueness of this must have struck on the ear and heart of many a traveller, who, nevertheless, may have not cared, or been able, to analyse his dream or his impression. The *carillons* of the Low Countries (or the *cornichons*, as I once heard them called by an English travelling gentlewoman, who published a book), have a poetry and a humour of their own, not to be replaced, or equalled, even by the shepherd’s horn on the mountains, or (what I am barbarous enough to enjoy when it is set in its proper framework) the wild, semi-savage music of the bag-pipe, coming across some heathery slope, and out-

rivalling, perhaps methodising, the cries of wild birds—always, as Collins says, “by distance made more sweet.”

Chimes and bells seem to me eminently to be the produce of flat districts, originally calculated, besides notation of the hour, to convey caution and alarm, in the event of any trouble, to willing helpers, were the same inundations, or invasion, or fire. I cannot but recal, while on the subject, that pathetic and spirited ballad-poem by Miss Ingelow, “The High Tide in Lincolnshire”, where the summons from the belfry is so picturesquely employed; and the fantastic lyric by Victor Hugo, “Lines written on a Flemish Window”, in which there is a most charming echo of the music from the church towers. Chimes and bells, then, are rather materials intended for mechanical uses than for the artist; but that these materials have been turned into the service of music, the history of bell-ringing and clock-making will sufficiently show. Should any one care to follow this matter further, I venture to refer him to a small but interesting volume by the Rev. Mr. Lukis, published by Mr. Parker in 1857.

Apart from all associations connected with a call to worship, such as strike the ear pleasantly and impressively in the stillness of a calm English Sabbath morning, the management of a chime of bells was an art and a science of variety—by the old phrase called permutation—possibly now dying out in England, but formerly in great request. I have no doubt that, by the music of the belfries, so limited and yet so changing, many effects have been suggested to musical composers. One frank and charming specimen of these is to be found in the chorus, “Welcome, mighty kings”, in the *Saul* of Handel. On that greatest of musical painters nothing was lost—whether it was the chirping of birds, so exquisitely presented in his *Acis and Galatea*; or the giant stride of Polyphemus in the same serenata; or the plagues and prodigies of *Israel*, describing the fire mingled with hail, the darkness, and the cleaving of the Red Sea.—That Handel was obviously sensitive to the sentiment of this out-of-door music is again to be traced in his chime of the “merry bells” from Milton’s *L’Allegro*.

It was part of the duties of organists in the Low Countries in days gone by to perform on the chimes—*carillons*—which, besides their mechanical use as marking the time from the belfry, were connected with a rude key-board, enabling the player to execute inventive and not mechanical music. That most intelligent of English artistic travellers, on whom nothing was lost—I mean Dr. Burney—gives among his other recollections a noticeable account of the performance of a blind Dutch organist at Amsterdam, who had to drive down every key that was to sound by a force of fist which would have made him formidable as a pugilist. The physical fatigue of this exercise must have been tremendous, and the whole display had in it something gross and barbaric, the practice of which was doomed to die out. I am unable to state whether there are still *carillonneurs* in the country of Paul Potter and Rembrandt and Van der Helst. The church organs there, excellent for their grandeur of full sound, in their exceeding difficulty of touch, offer hardships to be overcome with which the most muscular of musical muscular Christians (to use Mr. Kingsley’s phrase) need not disclaim to grapple.

It may be observed that the sense of musical rhythm seems as distinctly distributed among different nations as varieties of physiognomy. To give an instance ;—the Peninsular melodies are only characteristic when they are in triple time, such as the Fandango, the Bolero, the Zapateado, the Tirana ; the airs in common time being essentially mawkish and savourless, owing such individuality as they have to the sleepy voluptuous delivery of the executant. On the other hand, the humour of France lies directly in the direction of squared music, towards what is piquant as distinct from what is undulating. There is nothing to compare with a French Bourrée, which has given the name to a particular class of measure, or to a Galop, as Auber and Adam have used the measure ; but, as players and composers of waltzes, our neighbours are entirely distanced, when at their best, by the admirable orchestras and writers of Southern Germany. I do not know a waltz of French origin which can match with those of Strauss, and Lanner, and Labitsky, unless it be the excellent dance in the fair scene of M. Gounod's *Faust* ; and this may be, perhaps, because M. Gounod is the least French in his style of any of the popular composers of his country whom I could name. That climate, race, and nationality in these points bear with an influence on our art which is almost ineradicable I have long seen reason to think. How else is the apparently capricious distribution of voices to be accounted for ?—how, that high *soprani* and high tenors are so common in France, and, curiously deep basses ?—whereas, there is not a *contralto* of the country whom I can remember with the slightest pleasure. And, indeed, the voice was generally avoided by composers for France until that exceptional, and almost unique, woman of genius, seconded by culture, Madame Pauline Viardot, appeared, to show the world what can be done by the highest inspiration of art, independent of natural graces and gifts. For her sake, Meyerbeer threw down the Chinese wall of limitation and prejudice, and gave scope, in *Le Prophète*, to her extraordinary accomplishments and powers of achievement. How, some years later, she yet more distinctly justified and expressed these by her magnificent revival of Glück's *Orfeo*, I doubt not that some of my hearers, conversant with Paris, must remember. I cannot even recur to it without that strong emotion which is at once so rare and so precious. The Medici statues, by Michael Angelo, in the chapel at Florence ; Titian's "St. Peter Martyr" at Venice, now destroyed—are not more vividly before me, as having left an indelible print on the mind, than Pasta's *Medea*, or the curse of Lablache in *Otello*, or the two splendid impersonations by Malibran's sister ; the *presence* of which (I may say so without grimace) has beguiled me for a moment beyond the strict limits of my discourse.

In treating the question of national music here, I may remark, without wandering too far out of my record, on a phenomenon which is of universal recurrence—the demarcations not merely of race, but of sex too, in the art, be its stages of culture or civilisation ever so primitive, ever so mature. The absence of musical inventive genius in the fairer half of creation is most curiously inexplicable, and

another signal illustration of the contradictions and inconsistencies which mark Music in all its conditions, in all its stages, beyond any other art. No historical or critical observer would be in his senses were he not cordially to admit the power, and the persistence, and the originality, which women have shown in pursuits of far greater difficulty. Illustrations rise up by the hundred. It has been said, and never contradicted, that the spire of Strasburg Cathedral was devised by Sabina, the daughter of the architect Erwin von Steinbach. A similar legend, by the way, belongs to the daring caprice of the spire of our own Dunstan's-in-the-East, which is ascribed to Wren's daughter. There have been female sculptors, such as Proserpia Rossi, the Italian, who could hold their own, even in the great age of the art; and, in our own day, the gentle and gracious Princess Marie of Orleans, who imagined, and for the most part executed, her statue of Joan of Arc, one of the noblest efforts of modern sculpture. It is superfluous almost to cite so brilliant an example of power, in a branch of painting which might have been fancied inaccessible to female audacity, as Mademoiselle Rosa Bonheur. And to change, without losing sight of, the theme of sex, I may name the recognised services done to Science by the admirable and venerable Mrs. Somerville. Setting aside such stately dames as Mdle. de Seuderi and our own astounding Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, we reach a gentle poetess, the Countess of Winchelsea (as Wordsworth finely pointed out) one of the first minute observers of Nature, who helped to found the school in which such artists as himself, and Crabbe, and, to-day, a hundred more—let me bow in passing to our laureate—have proved themselves so exquisitely proficient. Then Clara Reeve and Anne Radcliffe may be said to have given the impetus to supernatural romance in England, since Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* was, at best, a literary luxury. Harriet Lee, a schoolmistress at Bath, whose *Canterbury Tales*, in their *Kruitner*, presented the world with one real invention, which Byron did not disdain to work out for tragic drama, as his *Werner* attests. Miss Edgeworth, suggested the national tale to our modern Shakespeare, Walter Scott (according to the author's own confession). And I must further name with emphasis, and, I hope, discretion, one of the most delicate, complete, and original geniuses of any time. I mean Miss Austen; the canonisation of whose domestic novels is one of the most marking and encouraging facts of England's justice in literary taste. There was a gentle, quiet Scottish lady, born in a manse, Joanna Baillie, who yet could write tragedies which Mrs. Siddons and John Kemble did not disdain to adopt;—and a still greater female dramatist, Mary Russell Mitford, whose four successful plays will bear comparison with any contemporary productions. Then a word is due to a lyrist, who founded a school both here and in America, Felicia Hemans. Yet all the above said, done, and conceded, what have women—to disdain the footman's designation of "the ladies"—done in musical creation?—Virtually nothing.

As dramatic interpreters in the hampered and conventional world of acted Drama, sung Opera, and declaimed Oratorio, they have dis-

tanced the best of the best men. We have nothing "to score" on our side, against such gifted persons as, among actors, Siddons, Jordan, Mars, the incomparable, gracious, and versatile Rachel; among singers, as Mara, Catalani, Sontag, Pasta, Grisi, Lind, and last, not least—nay, rather greatest, inasmuch as her genius enabled her to bring a rebellious nature into subjection—the yet greater sister of the great Malibran, Madame Pauline Viardot.

And yet women, so unsurpassable as interpreters, have been habitually weak as composers. The Electress of Saxony wrote operas, which she inflicted on Burney; Madame de Montgeroult, Concertos; Madame Fanny Hensel (Mendelssohn's sister, and, it may be said, in some respects, his other self), music in the most ambitious and severe forms. I could name scores besides; some of whom are, happily for us, quickening and adorning our society at the time being; but I cannot, after much comparison and retrospect, recall one single exception such as proves a rule. There have been female violinists, female pianists, female organists even—I will name one of these whom some of my hearers may recollect, Miss Sterling—who have justly gained distinction without any Salique concessions made by the haughtiness of man; but, as originating new thoughts, new forms, new phrases of melody, new facts of harmony, I cannot recollect a solitary female composer. The more I have reflected on this fact, the more strange, yet the more distinct, has it risen up before me.

It requires some nerve to say this, with the "emancipation movement" impending. That it may yield us anything equivalent to a Bach, a Handel, a Beethoven, a Mozart, a Weber, a Rossini, is what every loyal lover of art, and despiser of old cant sarcasms and class demarcations, will join me in desiring.

It may doubtless seem to some among my hearers a strange, perhaps a heartless, neglect of matters belonging to our own hearths and homes, that I have not devoted space to a branch of my subject so rich and suggestive as the music of our own country, including Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. I will remind them of a chapter in the *Natural History of Iceland*, by Olaus Magnus, at which every one has laughed. The chapter is "Of Snakes in Iceland", and runs thus: "Snakes in Iceland. There be none." Precisely the converse is to be said of the national music of these islands. It is a subject not to be packed away into a solitary paragraph by reason of its exceeding diversity and richness of material—as the collections of Mr. William Chappell, Mr. Graham, Mr. Dauney's republication of the Skene Manuscript, and (perhaps, best and most curious of all) Mr. Bunting's work, attest. And it is too well known to many of you, in its particulars and details, for that slight manner of treating it which presents an outline of things further remote,—to be admissible—I would not insult you, or stultify myself, by bringing in a few common-places at the close of a discourse, which, I am aware, may have been found too long. And I think you may see fair reason for my plea. If, however, what I have collected and just presented seem to you to have any special interest or value in reference to the objects of this society, and you

care, at some future period, to allow me a hearing, I will attempt some notice and remarks on the national music of our own country.

The paper was illustrated by Mr. Dannebreuther on the pianoforte.

The CHAIRMAN proposed, and Mr. DENDY seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Chorley, which was put and carried by acclamation.

Mr. CHORLEY returned thanks, and the meeting separated.

MAY 31ST, 1870.

DR. R. S. CHARNOCK, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes were read and confirmed.

George Thorne Ricketts, Esq., H. M. Consul Manilla, was elected a Fellow.

The presents were announced as follows, and thanks were voted to the donors.

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the EDITOR.—*Nature* (to date).

From the SOCIETY.—*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xxxix.

From Dr. B. SEEMANN.—Seven Photographs of Antiquities of Yucatan.

From E. T. STEVENS, Esq.—*Flint Chips: a Guide to Prehistoric Archaeology*.

From Dr. A. WEISBACH.—*Die Schädelform der Rumänen*.

From the INSTITUTION.—*Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, No. 9, 1870.

From the INSTITUTE.—*The Canadian Journal*, vol. xii, No. 5.

From the AUTHOR.—*A Handbook of Phrenology*. By Dr. C. Donovan.

From the AUTHORS.—*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1870, Heft ii. A. Bastian and R. Hartmann.

From Dr. E. T. R. TENISON.—*The British Medical Journal*, May 1869.

From the AUTHOR.—*Patronymica Cornu-Britannica*. By Dr. R. S. Charnock.

From the SOCIETY.—*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, London, vol. iv, No. 7.

From the SOCIETY.—*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. 3, 1870. *Journal ditto*, Part ii, No. 1.

From N. TRÜBNER, Esq.—*The Lifted and Subsided Rocks of America*. By G. Catlin, Esq.

FOR THE MUSEUM.

From Dr. DELGADO JUGO.—Two Basque skulls.

From the Rev. J. G. WOOD.—Two Tonga arrows; one cross-bow bolt, China; one spur, Patagonia, one spur, Niger; bolas, Patagonia; girth. Patagonia; lasso, Mexico; a robe, New Zealand.

A communication was read from Dr. W. M. Skues relative to a Hebrew Roll of the Levitical Law which he had presented to the Society's library.

A paper by Dr. SHORTT was read on *The Armenians of Southern India*. (The paper appears in the *Journal of Anthropology* for October.)

[*Abstract.*]

Early in the sixteenth century a few Armenians found their way into Southern India with the countenance and support of the Honourable East India Company, and under a contract with the company equal privileges with British subjects were conceded to the Armenians. The company further extended favours to them when they reached, in any town, the number of forty, by the provision of a place of worship and by annual grants of money. For a long time after their arrival in India they avoided mingling with other people, but latterly that rule has been broken through and alliances in marriage with Europeans are not unfrequent. The Armenians have diminished in numbers; and, it is said, are daily decreasing in influence. The chief causes of their approaching extinction in India appear to be the vice of intemperance, the taint of disease, and the contact with the Europeans, more especially the English. The physical and moral characteristics were described; in the former it was stated that the Armenians are strongly allied to the Jewish race, from which they claim descent.

The CHAIRMAN, referring to the uniformity of Armenian character, etc., wherever met with, said, according to the author of the paper, the priests entered the married state; the people sometimes intermarried with the English; they were addicted to intemperance; and, with regard to stature, that they were short and stout. Now, the Armenians of Transylvania were generally somewhat stout, and rather above the middle size; they were temperate; they intermarried with the Magyars, but not with the Saxons; and the priests were permitted to marry, but did not do so. According to Dr. Shortt, the first Armenians found their way into Southern India early in the sixteenth century; and the Armenians, like the Jews, are scattered over the earth. But there was this distinction, that the Armenian kingdom was broken up long before the sixteenth century, and no doubt most of the Armenians of India were colonists; indeed, the Armenians were generally very good colonists. According to Dr. Shortt, they profess to be descendants of Haïk, grandson of Japhet; and after Aram, a descendant of Japhet, they called their country Armenia, and themselves Armenians. But Genesis did not mention Haïk as a grandson of Japhet, and Aram was a descendant of Shem, and not of Japhet. The Armenians also derived their name, and that of their country, from Togarmah, grandson of Japhet; another grandson of Japhet was named Ashkenaz, and the latter was a geographical name in Armenia. The best etymology of the name Armenia was from *Hav-Minna*, "the mountainous part of Minni"; the Minni of Jeremiah (a district placed between Ararat and Ashkenaz); the *Mivvas* of Nicholas of Damascus.

The following paper by JOHN STIRLING, Esq., M.A., F.A.S.L., was read, on *The Races of Morocco*.

The inhabitants of that portion of Barbary known as Morocco are usually called Moors. But this name, of course, is no more descrip-

tive of race than the term *English* is, when used to denote, as it often is, the natives of Great Britain and Ireland, or even the "rock scorpi-
ons" of Gibraltar.

The races of Morocco may be arranged under the following names : Berbers, Al Ryf (the Ryf-men), Arabs, Bohāra troops, and other negroes, or half-breeds, and the Jews. In books I have sometimes seen the word "Kabyles" employed as if to designate some North African race ; but, as far as I am aware, the term, as used by the Moors, refers in a general way to villagers or country people employed in agriculture.

Of the history of the Berbers, there is probably less to be known than of that of the other races of Morocco. On the route to Fez, I have seen small walled towns built high up on the hills. These, I believe, are the dwelling-places of Berbers, and of Berber origin. But it is more easy to say what a Berber is not, than to define what he is. That he came from the East is most probable ; but did he come from Canaan, and if so, is he a Gergesite, a Jebusite, or a Phœnician ?

According to M. Deveaux, the Berber is the original or oldest element of the North African village population. "The base," he says, "of the Kabyle population is of the Berber race, consequently of the Caucasian. The Berber race forms the nucleus of the population which inhabits the portion of Africa which extends from the northern (!) shore towards a zone as yet unexplored, perhaps reaching to the confines of Ethiopia" (*L'Institut*, sect. ii, 306, 1861).

Le Hon mentions that M. Desor, since his journey to the Sahara, has described numerous and important dolmens on the slopes of the Atlas ; and it is suggested that the ancient Numidians and the actual Berbers may be the descendants of the mysterious people who erected the dolmens. Relics of the character here alluded to are not very common in the northern districts of Morocco ; but I have myself seen at least one important specimen not above two days' journey from Tangier.

It is at least probable that people of Phœnician race mixed with the most ancient inhabitants of Morocco. On this point M. Texier remarks : "The Phœnicians built a fortified place in Numidia on the same site as that of the existing town of Tingis" (Tangier).

Pleyte, a recent and admirable Dutch historian, writing of the Berbers, referring to *Talmud Jeruschalmi*, tract *Schal*. c. 6, f. 35, says, that on the conquest of Canaan by Joshua, the Gergesites, "who believed in God," took to flight and made their escape into Africa.

Bearing somewhat on the Canaanitish origin of the Berbers we read (*Chron. Paschale*, ii, p. 96) of neighbouring populations, that the inhabitants of the Balearic Islands were descended from Canaanites, who fled before Joshua, and that the town of Cadiz in Spain was built by Jebusites and other Canaanite tribes.

The name Berber is probably derived from the Arabic word *berbera*, and if so, may mean a jumble of unintelligible cries—a not unnatural description for one barbarous people to give of another barbarous people's language which they did not understand. Al-Ryf (the Ryf-men) are a somewhat more tangible subject than the Berbers.

On landing about two years ago at Tangier, I began to remark, about the market-places, lightly-clad, sun-burnt figures, with heads shaved, all but one occipital corner, where a tuft of hair was allowed to develop into a long tress, which was worn either plaited or flowing luxuriantly and unconfined, like an animal's tail. "Who are these men?" I asked my interpreter. "Bery bad men, sir!—suppose you want to kill me—then you give one of these men a penny—one penny—and he will do it."

These wild relatives or descendants of the Ryf pirates of other days are the inhabitants of the northern spurs of the Atlas range which separate Morocco from Algeria; and, though they are nominally the subjects of the Sultan of Morocco, they never have been really subdued in their mountain fastnesses. They are very jealous of any violation of their territory, and for a stranger to attempt to pass through these mountain ranges is said to be certain death. Al-Ryf, however, are by no means confined to these inaccessible and inhospitable regions. The entire Tangier district is reckoned to be Ryf territory, and what little agriculture goes on is in the hands of al-Ryf. But this province is by no means one of the most fertile in Morocco. Many of these people are also shopkeepers in the towns, practise handicrafts, and occupy themselves in commercial pursuits. The present Basha of Tangier is a Ryfy (Ryf-man). Like all the fair people of Morocco, al-Ryf are a handsome and well-formed generation. When they are constantly exposed to the sun, their skin takes on a magnificent bronze colour; but those who follow indoor pursuits are of a delicate olive complexion.

During the famine-winter of 1867-8 there wandered about the streets of Tangier a small Ryf family of three orphans. The eldest was a girl just developing into womanhood, and possessing splendid dark eyes, rather well-proportioned features, and in other respects as much beauty as was consistent with constant exposure to the weather and a chronic experience of very short commons. The next member was a girl much younger, and the third a little boy about four years of age. The father of these children, I was told, had been killed by his brother, so that, being without a natural provider, they had wandered, in that cruel winter, to semi-European Tangier, where charity somewhat more abounds than in the less mixed Moorish population. The brother of tender years, when asked "what will you do to your uncle when you are big enough?" used to answer with infantine energy: "Kill him, kill him, kill him!" I mention this as an illustration of how early the sentiment of the "blood-feud" becomes a part of the young idea of these people.

As the traveller advances from the coast towards the great plains of the interior, he finds the character of the population change. The villages are no longer composed of mud or cane-built huts, but consist of groups of tents. This indicated the presence of the Arab race, who, like all invaders, have occupied the richest portions of the country. However, in the great fertile plains of Morocco there is room for a much larger population. According to the best information I have been able to obtain, the number of the inhabitants has very much de-

creased, and is still decreasing. I have met persons who deny that the entire population of Morocco can exceed five millions.

It would be needless to describe the Arab of Morocco, as I am not aware that he differs materially from his brother of the east. A somewhat remarkable race are the Bohāra troops. Their ancestors were a rebellious Negro tribe, living south of the Atlas; and being subdued by one of the Sultans, were afterwards formed into a body-guard, at present numbering two thousand men. Though they have since intermarried with Moorish women, they have not lost the Negro type of feature, nor much of that complexion which is "the shadowed livery of the burnished sun."

The Sultan himself, though Sheryf, that is to say, the descendant of the Prophet, is pretty nearly as dark as his Bohāra horse-guards; and this complexion is likely to show itself for some generations, as his Sheryfian Majesty's predilection for dark coloured wives is well known.

There are many Negroes in Morocco, both slaves and free men; and the intermarriage of the females with the fair Moors produces a mixed race. But the true Moor is a fair man; I have seen some individuals with blue eyes and light or red hair. The Jews form a not inconsiderable portion of the population of Moorish towns; and in Tangier, where these people are more numerous than elsewhere, they constitute, perhaps, one third of the native community; but in other places they perhaps do not form a tenth of the town population. An adequate account, however, of the character and real condition of the Jews of Morocco would require almost a separate paper.

Though all the native races, with the exception, of course, of the Jews, profess to believe in "God and his prophet Mohammed," yet the traditions of far older phases of religion are unquestionably still extant. Even the primeval Fetish still flourishes. There is on the beach at Tangier a large cylindrical stone, or rather rock, which daily, at low water, attracts the devout salutations of many Moorish women.

Mr. A. L. LEWIS said the paper raised a number of questions, some of which had a deeper interest for Britons than might be generally supposed. It was extremely probable that there might have been a Canaanitish influence in North Africa, and there were also various, though perhaps obscure indications of a residence in Africa of the progenitors of the Irish, who might have been influenced during such residence in such a manner as to receive and transmit to their present representatives some of those peculiarities which now puzzled anthropologists and politicians. The fact of megalithic monuments being found in North Africa showed, amongst other things, that a certain influence, perhaps of Phœnician origin, had been at work there, which had pervaded many other countries from India to Britain and Scandinavia, but these monuments were not as yet known to exist in that part of North Africa which lay nearest Egypt, which tended to show that the builders had come over from Sicily and worked towards Gibraltar.

The CHAIRMAN said the author of the paper derived the term

"Berber" from the Arabic word *berbera*, "a jumble of unintelligible cries." This reminded one of an etymology of Leo, quoted by Müller, that the name which the Germans gave to their neighbours the Celts, *Walh*, in old high German, *Vealh* in Anglo-Saxon, the modern *Welsh*, is supposed to be the same as the Sanskrit *mlechha*, "a person who talks indistinctly," a sort of etymology very well for babies. It would be absurd to suppose that the Welsh could have derived their name direct from the Sanskrit. But it might be as well to see whether a better etymology of the word Berber could not be found than that suggested in the paper. The Arabs also give the name of Berber to the Somāli, who inhabit the country between Abyssinia and Zanguebar, and to the Barābrā, the general name by which the peoples of Nubia are designated in Egypt. But these three peoples are different in race, language, and everything else. Burckhardt derives the name of the Barābrā from a wady or district of Upper Nubia, on the right bank of the Nile. The Hebrew word *bar* signifies "son," and *ēber* or *ēbr* "region on the other side"; so that *Bar-ēber* or *Bar-ēberon* might signify "the people on the other side", i.e., "the people beyond the boundary, or across the stream." Again, the Hebrew *bar* is a field, plain, country, and the Arabic *barr* is also a desert: so that a compound, *Bar-ber-berr*, or *Bar-berim*, might mean "people of the country or of the desert." Now this latter etymology (people of the desert) was supported by the fact that Barbary, before it was inhabited by the Arabs, was almost depopulated, and also because all the oases of the desert were formerly peopled by Berbers. But another etymology might still be found. Among other names for Barbary, in vulgar Arabic, were *Belād-ēl-Moghārebah*, "the country of the West"; and *El-Moghreb*, "the West," *Berr-ēl-Gharb*, and *El Gharb* respectively of the same meaning. Now, if the term *El-Gharb* was used to designate Barbary, might not this district also be called the *Berr*; and if so the inhabitants would be named *Bar-Berr*, "the people of the Berr." The term *Kabylah* meant "men who lived in tribes," from Arabic *kabāil*, a tribe, plural *kabyléh*; and *Tawārik* or *Tuārik*, is a plural formed from the Berber word *terkā*, of the same meaning. Mr. Dendy was of opinion that the descendants of Cush peopled the North, and those of Ham the South, of Africa; but he admitted that this was a sweeping assertion; and he, Dr. CHARNOCK, agreed that it was such.

Sir DUNCAN GIBB, Bart., read the following paper: *On the Paucity of Aboriginal Monuments in Canada.*

I have oftentimes been struck by the remarkable scarcity of monuments of an aboriginal character when residing in Canada, contrasted with the neighbouring, more southern territory of the American Union and the nations of Central America. Being familiar with most of the archaeological discoveries such as we know them in Canada or the immediately bordering lands, such as the pictured rocks of Lake Superior, and the great mounds of Ohio, and other states contiguous to Canada, it has occurred to me there must be some good reason why architectural monuments are either wholly absent in Canada, or so scarce that as yet we know of very few or almost none of them.

Humboldt, indeed, in his *Aspects of Nature*, published by Bohn, refers to a monument discovered in the prairies of Canada, about nine hundred French miles due west from Montreal. This would be either in the state of Wisconsin, to the west of Lake Michigan, or to the north or south of Lake Superior. I incline to think it the prairie land in the first named, but which was considered a part of Canada at the time the monument was discovered. Regarding this monument I shall have a word to say by-and-bye.

In discussing the subject of Aboriginal Monuments, I would exclude the small remains of the earlier inhabitants of Canada, such as flint arrow-heads, stone implements or weapons, fragments of pottery, etc., found now and then in various parts of the country. I would also exclude Indian burying-grounds, which are not uncommon in Canada, near Dundas, Ottawa, and other places, even with large, full-grown trees flourishing over them, because, although the inhabitants may have been ancient, they were not builders of stone. Likewise I would exclude the Ancient Mounds described by Mr. T. C. Wallbridge in the *Canad. Jour.* for September, 1860, occurring upon the shores of the Bay of Quinté. These are similar to the barrows or tumuli described by American antiquarians, and extend along the bay shore for eight miles, in which distance as many as a hundred of them may be counted. It is conjectured, also with good reason, that they may extend to the shores of the upper lakes, and thence to the most remote parts of the Continent. There is this curious fact, however, which allies them to ancient monuments, and it is that for the most part they are constructed of masses of broken gneiss brought from a distance, and covered with a layer of earth of a certain thickness. They are invariably sepulchral in character, for they contain human remains, and objects of curiosity and art, not unlike our English barrows, and such as extend over a very wide range of the North American continent, especially in the state of Ohio and valley of the Mississippi.

The present communication refers to monuments that had been erected either as dwellings, or temples of a religious character, as met with in Chiapas, Yucatan, Mexico, Peru, and other places.

There seem to me to be *two* good and sufficient reasons why such remains have not been found in Canada, and one of them will apply to northern nations in other parts of the world. It is this, that the extreme cold and rigour of such a climate as exists in Canada, with its six months of winter, the ground for the most part of the time, indeed the whole of it, covered with snow; and although the change is very rapid in the spring of the year from winter to summer, the summer being not inferior to that of the tropics, is nevertheless unfavourable for the long conservation of architectural monuments or remains of any kind, unless carefully looked after as in modern times. The continuous frost of winter will in time destroy everything of a monumental character, built up of separate stones, no matter almost what their size may be, unless I except the Canadian mounds of stone, covered with earth. We have no evidence, that I know of, of the existence of truly aboriginal temples or monuments in any part of Northern Europe, although perhaps there may be some in Asia, but

certainly none exist in America, although there are still large districts of country that have not as yet been thoroughly explored. In the southern frontier mountains of Siberia, and in the steppes of the middle regions of the Lena, it has been asserted that frequent memorials are found there of ancient grandeur, magnificence, and culture, of which some are presumed to be of an antiquity demonstrably of above a thousand years. The crumbling ruins of some ancient town are now and then found, and Tartarian tombs in Siberia, containing objects of interest, antiquity, and art. But I doubt whether such things are found very far north in Siberia, although I am free to admit that where they are found would be about the same latitude as many parts of Canada. The same also may be said of some of the wonderful Lamaseries and other temples, found in the elevated and northern parts of Asia, which have been described by various travellers; but they are comparatively modern, and cannot possess any claim to rank as aboriginal, although it is very possible that some may possess a tolerably great antiquity. Climate, then, is the great drawback to the preservation of aboriginal monuments, and I very much doubt, from my intimate knowledge of that of Canada, whether, even supposing they had been built, their remains would have held long together from the destructive action of some centuries of frost and snow in the long winter season.

Secondly, the people who built the great American mounds, many of which are close to Canada, especially in the neighbouring state of Ohio, and who no doubt peopled the country north as well as south of the great American lakes, and erected the Canadian mounds as well, were, I believe most firmly, the descendants of those Tartar tribes who crossed into America by Behrings Straits, and who occupied the greater portion of the North American Continent, now represented by the existing races of Indians. They were altogether a different race of people to those who built the magnificent temples of Central and South America. I state this advisedly, notwithstanding the interesting essay of Mr. Charles Whittlesey, on the *Ancient Miners of Lake Superior*, wherein he has endeavoured to show the connexion of the Aztecs, or Ancient Mexicans, with the ancient mining operations on Lake Superior (*Can. Jour.*, vol. i, 4to, 106). Supposing even it were established that the Aztecs arrived in Central America from a northern region one thousand two hundred years ago, *i.e.*, about A.D. 600, I still think that the *climate* would be the chief reason for no stone buildings being erected, or, if erected, soon hopelessly destroyed. Whether the Aztecs are the mound builders or not, or the ancient miners of Lake Superior, does not signify in the general argument, for we find no monuments of stone in Canada.

If anything points more to a kinship between various nations, it is their monuments, and it is curious to reflect that the Mexican and Central American monuments exist in a climate that is not unlike that of Egypt, and one in which the rule is preservation like that of Egypt, instead of disintegrative destruction, as would occur in a cold climate like that of Canada. Who can tell whether they, the ancient Egyptians and the Mexicans, may not be the descendants of one and

the same people. The modern representatives of the Indians, as we know them in North America, certainly manifest no architectural genius, inherited from their forefathers. The same may be said of the present Central American Indians; but among the latter civilisation would seem to have departed from among them; whilst among those of more northern parts it may never have existed, or if it did, the only remains left behind to show it are the great American mounds in Ohio, and other neighbouring states, and those in Canada.

The climate varies somewhat in the eastern and western parts of Canada, being milder in the latter and more favourable for the preservation of any monuments. Yet we find none of them unless the mounds, such as exist in the prairies of Ohio, almost alongside of Canada. I thought at first that the great chain of lakes formed a sort of dividing line between the mound builders and the then existing more northern Indians, but that could not be so, as mounds have been found north of Lake Ontario. The same line of reasoning respecting climate will apply to New York State, and all of the territory to the east, including Maine, New Hampshire, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. The only aboriginal remains are chiefly rock sculptures and markings, as have been described from time to time by various writers, occurring chiefly in the state of New York. Of these Canada can boast of none in caverns, such as have been found in Scotland, although no one can deny that they may have existed at one time, but, owing to the denuding agency of frost and ice they are now all destroyed. Look at the lesson taught us by the Flower-Pot rocks of the Mingan Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which at one time formed portions of great sea caverns, the remains of which now lie high up on land some sixty or seventy feet above the level of the sea. The same also with similar flower-pot rocks of Gaspé and of islands in Lake Huron. As I am familiar with most of the land caverns in Canada, the absence of animal remains in almost all of them would point to severity of climate unfavourable for preservation of monuments. An exception to this may be taken in favour of the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, and Weyer's Hole in Virginia, and probably the great caverns yet to be explored existing in the Middle Silurian Rocks of that portion of Western Canada (now the province of Ontario), extending from West Flamboro, at the extreme western part of Lake Ontario, running northward to Georgian Bay, to the east of Lake Huron. And probably also in a similar series of caverns, which I conjecture will be discovered some day in the northern part of the island of Anticosti, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in the same geological formation.

To refer to the monument in the great prairies of Canada, as described by Kalm:—It consisted of great pillars formed of a single stone each, with others laid across the top of them, forming a sort of wall, and their size was such as in some respects to resemble the Druidical monuments of our own country. A single large stone, like a pillar, was met with, and in it a smaller one was fixed, which was covered on both sides with an inscription in unknown characters. This stone, twelve inches by six, was detached, carried back to Canada,

and sent to France to the Secretary of State, the Count de Maurepas. The Jesuits in Canada unanimously affirmed that the letters were Tartarian; and on comparing the two sides of the stone they were found to be alike. If I can claim this ancient monument as Canadian, then it is the only one that has hitherto been discovered, but unfortunately it is lost to science, for its whereabouts to this day remains unknown. Humboldt states that he had in vain requested many of his French friends to make inquiries regarding it. I may say the same of myself, for not only did I make ineffectual inquiries to discover it, but sought for it in the various museums of Paris, in which my efforts were seconded by many powerful and willing friends.

In the western part of Canada there are a few scattered ancient fortifications or embankments called Indian forts, especially in the counties of Beverley, Vaughan, Whitechurch, and the country about Lake Simcoe; there is a remarkable one near the mouth of the small river Huron, on the western or American side of the river Detroit, near Lake St. Clair.

Respecting the earthworks, embankments, fossæ, and ramparts of these fortifications which exist in many parts of the United States, though more sparsely in Canada, I would claim for them an antiquity not later than that of the Roman encampments met with in Britain; and, providing they are situated on land sufficiently elevated, their preservation would be secured for long periods of time. Many of these mounds, and especially some in Canada, have the largest-sized forest trees growing upon the top of them, which always points to an age of many centuries at the very least.

In conclusion, it may be said that, if true aboriginal monuments are few, scarce, or altogether absent in Canada, we have an explanation in the character of the climate, together with that of the aboriginal inhabitants themselves, which certainly points to the superiority of their mental development, in so far, that where so much snow existed for so many months in the year, it would have been the extreme of folly to build temples, monuments, or houses of stone, that would in time become destroyed unless kept in a state of constant repair, by incessant watchfulness, as is the practice and custom at the present day among their more modern successors.

The *only* stone pyramidal edifice north of Mexico is stated to be not far from Newark, near the Ohio and Erie Canal; it stands a large tumulus, built of *stone*, described as a right cone in figure, with an altitude of about forty feet, and a base with a diameter of a hundred feet. Newark is about thirty-six miles south of Sandusky, on the shores of Lake Erie. Regarding the preservation of this aboriginal mound, it must be stated that a comparatively mild winter occurs in Ohio, with but little snow or denuding agency such as exists in Canada.

The crania, however, of the aborigines, as found in the tumuli of Ohio, represent individuals of a very low type, and quite incapable of constructing such noble monuments as are seen in Central America. Yet it has been stated that, anatomically, there is a striking resemblance between the crania of the race of the Mounds and the ancient

Peruvians. And the extension of these mounds, tumuli, etc., through western North America and Mexico to Peru—an assertion which I call in question—induces a belief that the race which constructed them emigrated thither; and their termination there, to the conclusion that the natives went no further. Into the question who were the mound builders I do not purpose going, as the scope of my paper refers exclusively to the Paucity of Aboriginal Monuments in Canada, which I have attempted to explain as briefly as the subject would admit of.

Mr. Gould Avery, Dr. Richard King, Mr. Dendy, Sir Duncan Gibb, Mr. Mackenzie, and Mr. MacCarthy also joined in the discussion.

The meeting then adjourned.

JUNE 14TH, 1870.

DR. BEDDOE, PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.

Logan D. H. Russell, Esq., M.D., was elected a Local Secretary for Wilmington, Delaware, U.S.

The following list of presents was read, and the thanks of the Society were voted to the respective donors :—

TO THE LIBRARY.

From the EDITOR.—Food Journal, No. 5.

From Dr. E. T. RYAN TENISON.—The British Medical Journal.

From the EDITOR.—Scientific Opinion (to date).

From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 119.

From the INSTITUTION.—Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, vol. xiv, No. lviii.

From M. AD. QUETELET.—Mémoires Couronnés in 4to, t. 34, in 8vo, t. 21. Bulletin, 2nd Série, t. 27-28. Annuaire de 1870. Phénomènes périodiques, 1867-68. Notice sur le Congrès de Florence, Académie Royale de Belgique.

From the SOCIETY.—Bulletin de la Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

From Dr. KOPERNICKI.—Postae Kasimierza Wielkiego, Dr. Joseph Majer. Lebensbericht van Prof. Jan Van der Hoeven. Prof. G. F. Groshaus.

From the AUTHORS.—Les Carthaginois en France. M. de Marchard et Dr. Pruner-Bey.

The CHAIRMAN announced that Dr. Richard King, Mr. C. Staniland Wake, and Mr. Gould Avery have been appointed delegates to represent the Society at the Liverpool meeting of the British Association.

The following papers were read :—

1. *On the Irish Celt*, by HENRY HUDSON, M.D.

Although Mr. Avery's paper on the Irish Celtic race has scarcely done it justice, he nevertheless has well deserved our thanks for direct-

ing the attention of the Anthropological Society of London to this subject at a time when our rulers are evidently anxious to conquer "England's great difficulty" by giving contentment to the Irish as a nation. It is but too obvious that their efforts to attain this most desirable object must end in total disappointment if legislation be not founded on a due consideration of the characteristics of the people, whom, I have no doubt, they are conscientiously desirous to benefit.

My principal object, however, is not to comment on the past, but to depict the marked characteristics of the Irish Celtic race, and to draw conclusions from thence as to how they ought to be governed.

As a general rule, then, the Celts are a warlike race, brave, but too often rash and hasty, generous and warm-hearted, but improvident, hospitable, affectionate, and grateful for kindness, jealous of honour, dreamy, full of deep sympathies, but irascible, uncertain, and treacherous; despising peaceful arts, labour, industry, order, economy, and cleanliness, they are deeply religious, and, as being so, are but too frequently victims to superstition, under the influence of which they are often a prey to the most abject terror, or susceptible of being excited to outrageous violence and bloodshed without remorse or pity.

Any denial of what the Celt considers justice provokes his unbounded rage and vindictiveness. They are essentially "clannish," from a want of individual self reliance. Their perception and enjoyment of humour or fun is intense, their reasoning faculty is by no means deficient, but their imagination is so much more potent than their reason, that it is through this faculty they are most easily influenced and led whether for good or evil. They are, I regret to say, not truthful, but this may, perhaps, to some extent be attributed to an exuberant imagination. As Knox has said, "How tender are the feelings of the Celtic woman, her tears flow at every tale of distress, but her children are in rags." The Celt is content amid dirt, beggary, or even semi-starvation, unless roused to the idea that these evils are the consequence of injustice or oppression, in which case contentment gives place to deadly hatred, fury, and blindly-vindictive bloodthirstiness, without the slightest reasonable prospect of any good to himself or others from the indulgence of these passions.

I have not spoken of the eloquence with which the Celtic race are so often gifted, for it is chiefly the product of a fertile imagination; in like manner, I have not referred to their love for music, nor to the character of the national melodies, at one time expressive of the utmost tenderness or deepest pathos, at another breathing the wildest spirit of mirth, and often giving utterance to the most heart-stirring call to the battlefield. Although these qualities strongly indicate the character of a race, they do not form that character. They are products, not germs.

A few examples may, perhaps, afford a clearer view of some of the most marked characteristics of the Celt. First, then, I have known an Irishman (being utterly penniless) to borrow a few shillings for the express purpose of getting food for his hungry children, and before he went forty paces with the money in his pocket, I have known him give this very money to another who (meeting him) asked his aid to

preserve his own family from starvation. Can anything evidence more strongly the "generosity and warm-heartedness combined with thoughtless improvidence in this fine race?" Secondly, the faction fights which formerly disgraced almost every fair in the country bore the strongest testimony to the "clannish propensities" of the Celt, which are also strongly evidenced by the fact that the Irish always herd together in some one quarter of any town in which a large number of them are to be found, as well as by the tendency to *sub-divide land* (no matter how small the quantity) *amongst all* the members of a family. Thirdly, as to the influence which can be obtained over them for good or for evil. It is impossible not to allude to the long supremacy of Daniel O'Connell. Through his eloquence—so admirably suited to the character of his countrymen—he could rouse his tens or hundreds of thousands to a state of excitement that apparently must end in open violence and rebellion; and yet (until "Young Ireland" took the reins out of his hands in the decline of his power) he possessed such an influence as caused those enormous assemblies of the most excitable race under the sun to disperse and return to their homes with unparalleled quietness and order. The confidence they reposed in him had no limit, and they obeyed him accordingly. The true lesson to be learned is, in fact, that "the Celt *cannot be driven*, but is easily led or guided by any one whom he deems his friend." The character of the Celtic race, which I have so far endeavoured to describe, establishes the conclusion that they are not fitted (like the Saxon race) for organising or living under a mere cold system of "constitutional freedom." If left to themselves they must inevitably fall into the hands of a military leader, or else anarchy is the consequence. It is vain to expect—after the experience of seven hundred years—that climate or any other incident (not even an Act of Parliament) can convert a Celt into a Saxon. How fully does the experience of events not merely in Ireland, but also in Celtic France, point to the same conclusion; and will our Government never open their eyes to let in this light upon their understandings?

How, then, is the Celtic race to be conciliated and ruled for their own as well as the national good? They require a paternal government, with a strong and firm hand to put down the slightest disobedience or resistance to the laws of the land. The most mischievous mistake any government could fall into would be to encourage their *clannish propensities* by any act which would facilitate the "sub-division of land." Any party who is found to excite them either by speech or writing, to treason or hostility to the national Government, ought to be *at once* made subject to the strongest power of the law. Such "escapades" are usually harmless amongst our Saxon brethren, who go home and reason the matter out quietly, but the imaginative Celt broods over the picture of the wrongs inflicted on his ancestors as personal wrongs to himself, and is thus too often led to the perpetration of the most atrocious acts. Let our rulers, then, stretch out their hands to protect the excitable warm-hearted Celt from these dangerous influences. While, on the other hand, nothing could tend more to peace and love in Ireland than the presence of members of

the Royal family--and above all of our most gracious Queen--amongst our warm-hearted and excitable population; they would be easily won to "love and trust her." Then indeed we might hope to see peace and happiness established in our hitherto distracted country.

There is one melancholy product of the infamous penal laws which formerly disgraced our statutes. This is the almost impossibility of obtaining information or evidence against the vilest criminal, even from parties who had witnessed and *detested the act*. This difficulty has arisen from the dread of being called an *informer*. We cannot wonder that when such laws were in existence, the name of "informer" was considered by the Irish Celt as more odious than "murderer," or any other conceivable epithet; and it *may* take generations of good government to do away with this feeling amongst our Celtic population, *unless*, indeed, the hierarchy and priesthood of the Church of Rome could be persuaded to announce throughout the breadth of the land that "the rites of their Church (absolution) would be altogether denied to any person cognisant of such atrocious crimes who did not *at once* give every information in his power to the authorities." This would make the giving of information (in cases of *murder*) a *duty* instead of a *crime* in the eyes of the people, and would almost entirely deter the villains who commit such crimes from attempting them, as, at present, they rely on escaping with impunity, in consequence of the people's horror of being designated informers.

2. *On the Race Elements of the Irish People*, by G. H. KINAHAN, Esq.

[*Abstract.*]

The present inhabitants of Ireland appear to have a very mixed ancestry. Before Christ we find the island inhabited by the Firbolg and Le Danaan, the latter apparently being an enlightened people, from the remains of the structures erected by them, such as fortifications and huge monumental piles, numerous throughout the island. (The names Danaan and Dane are so similar, that one has been confounded with the other; and the structures and the buildings erected by the Danaan are said to have been made by the Danes.)

After the year A.D. 790, the Danes and other northmen invaded and settled in different parts of the country, but generally at or near the coast; also colonies from other parts of the Continent of Europe, but it is generally supposed principally from Spain and Portugal. The descendants of all these different tribes and nations that settled in Ireland prior to the English invasion, in the thirteenth century, appear to have been classed under the general name of Celt; however, after the descent of the Saxons on Ireland in the thirteenth century (12th?), the great mixture of the races seems to have begun, which has increased more and more up to the present day.

In Ulster there was an invasion of foreigners, principally from Scotland; the English of the Pale settled on the west coast; while mercenary soldiers, that seem to have been collected from different places in Europe, occupied parts of Connaught and Munster. In after years every new Lord Deputy of Ireland confiscated parts of the country from the Irish inhabitants, and gave portions to their minions; but

in James's, Cromwell's, and William's reigns there were wholesale confiscations to make way for emigrants from England.

It might be supposed that these foreigners would only have occupied the good land, and have left the wild mountainous country to the Irish. This, however, is not the case, for the latter emigrants drove out the descendants of those that came earlier from the good land. Moreover, grants of all the wild country were given to persons of foreign extraction.

From the intermarriages of these different races there is now no type to be found by which to judge whether an individual is of Celtic origin or otherwise; for many of the inhabitants, with a true Irish name, such as O'Flahertie, will be fair while the others are dark, some will be tall, others short, etc., etc. And similarly among the inhabitants whose names would lead you to believe they were descended from foreigners.

3. *On the Kelts of Ireland*, by JOHN BEDDOE, M.D., President, A.S.L. (The paper appears in the *Journal of Anthropology* for October.)

[Abstract.]

The principal points proved or indicated in it were the following:

That the Kelts known to the Greek and Latin authors, though they were a light-haired race as compared with the Italians, were darker than the Teutonic tribes; and that their physical type differed in other respects.

That the Irish are, generally speaking, a dark-haired but light-eyed race, and that wherever there is much light hair it may be accounted for by a Danish or English cross.

That the dark hair of the Irish may be, partly at least, attributed to the Gaelic Celts.

That there is less resemblance between the Irish, taken as a whole, and the Basques, who are generally considered to be the purest Iberians extant, than between the South Welsh and the Basques.

That any Basque or Iberian element in Ireland is probably small, and can have only partially contributed to the prevalence of dark hair among the Western Irish. That Ugrian or Ligurian elements may also be present there.

The paper was illustrated by minute details respecting the physical types in various parts of modern Ireland, including extensive observations on the colour of the eyes and hair; and the author exhibited a number of photographic and other portraits of Basques and of Bretons, Welshmen, Walloons, and other supposed descendants of the Keltic race.

The CHAIRMAN having invited discussion on the above papers together,

Dr. CARTER BLAKE, though he avowed himself one of the unhappy subjects of Dr. Hudson's paper, would endeavour to keep strictly to the question of the physical aspect of the Irish, as he did not consider it necessary to vindicate them morally or socially. He thought two types at least might be discerned. One, the dolichocephalous, low-browed, with large superciliaries, black-haired and grey-eyed type, which was found in Munster and Leinster, and which was shown in

such skulls as the Louth, the Glenarm, the Coreomroo, and other well known specimens. This high type pure blood Irishman, perhaps, in some well-known clans (*e. g.* O'Neill) shaded into the "Scotch" type in Ulster. Whether Ulster was peopled from Scotland, or Scotland from Ulster, mattered little in the argument, as both were the same race. This type agreed with the type of the Spaniard from Santander, of which Dr. Beddoe had shown a photograph, and differed entirely from the typical Basque type. But the other Irishman, the "Counaught man," who was perhaps also found in Kerry, as shown by Dr. Beddoe's "Arran" photographs, was another being altogether. Mongoloid in aspect, with the *orbicularis oris* muscle strongly marked, we see in Mr. Tenniel's caricatures in *Punch* examples of this type. Surely there was no race affinity between these two forms of Irish countenance, and it was wrong to take the "Arran" type as an example of the true Irishman. But Dr. Carter Blake felt interested in the type which Dr. Beddoe had described from Connemara, "small, black-haired men." Were they brachycephalic? Did they have the same affinity to the true Celt that the Kymry of North Wales bore to the Silures? Were they, in fact, relics of a pre-existent Ugrian or Ligurian race, as M. Pruner-Bey had hinted? These were only questions, to which he was not going to answer; but one fact was at least clear, that there was nothing like the Basques in Ireland.

Dr. CHARNOCK said his remarks would be confined to Dr. Beddoe's paper. The latter stated that the Spanish element prevailed most in Kerry. He, Dr. Charnock, always understood that it was principally in Galway that the Spanish element was to be found. With regard to stature, that of course depended upon external circumstances. In the north and north-east, and, indeed, in most parts of Ireland, except the west, the people are a mixed race. This remark was applicable to the Tipperary men. Mixed races generally produced fine men. The author of the paper seemed to a certain extent to use the terms "Basque", "Iberian", and "Spanish" synonymously. Now there was as great a difference in every respect between the Basques and the Spaniards proper, as between the English and the Chinese. The term "Iberian" was sometimes used for "Basque", sometimes for "Spanish." It was also applied to the north-west corner of Spain, and, by classical writers, to the whole Peninsula. Originally, no doubt, Iberian simply related to the people inhabiting the banks of the Iber or Ebro. Further, the term "Iberia" was given to a country of Asia Minor, between the Black and Caspian Seas, inhabited by a people having nothing in common with the inhabitants of the Peninsula. Dr. Beddoe said that, in order to treat the subject in question properly, an intimate acquaintance with the Celtic, Teutonic, Euskarian, and Ugrian languages was necessary. Now, the excellence of the paper itself rather disproved this assertion. The fact was that, although it was possible that some Teutonic words might have found their way into the Irish language, he, Dr. Charnock, had not been able to trace a single word to the Basque, the Finnish, the Magyar, or to any of the Ugrian dialects.

The discussion was further sustained by the Rev. Dunbar I. Heath;

Professor Henry, of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington; Mr. Walter Dendy; Mr. J. E. O'Cavanagh; Mr. Edward J. Wade; Dr. Seemann, and the Chairman.

It was proposed by Dr. SEEMANN, seconded by Mr. MACKENZIE, and carried unanimously :—"That this meeting of the Anthropological Society has listened with peculiar pleasure to Professor Henry's account of the Smithsonian Institution, and takes advantage of his presence to express its appreciation of the enlightened policy of that useful Institution."

The CHAIRMAN having announced that the new *Journal of Anthropology* would be issued to Fellows in July, adjourned the meeting until next Session, to commence November 1st.

